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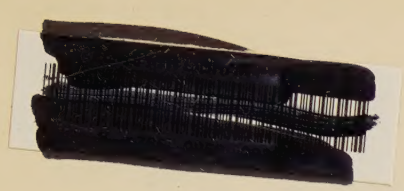

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The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents

TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS
OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES
IN NEW FRANCE
1610-1791

Jesuits V. 32

Edited by
REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

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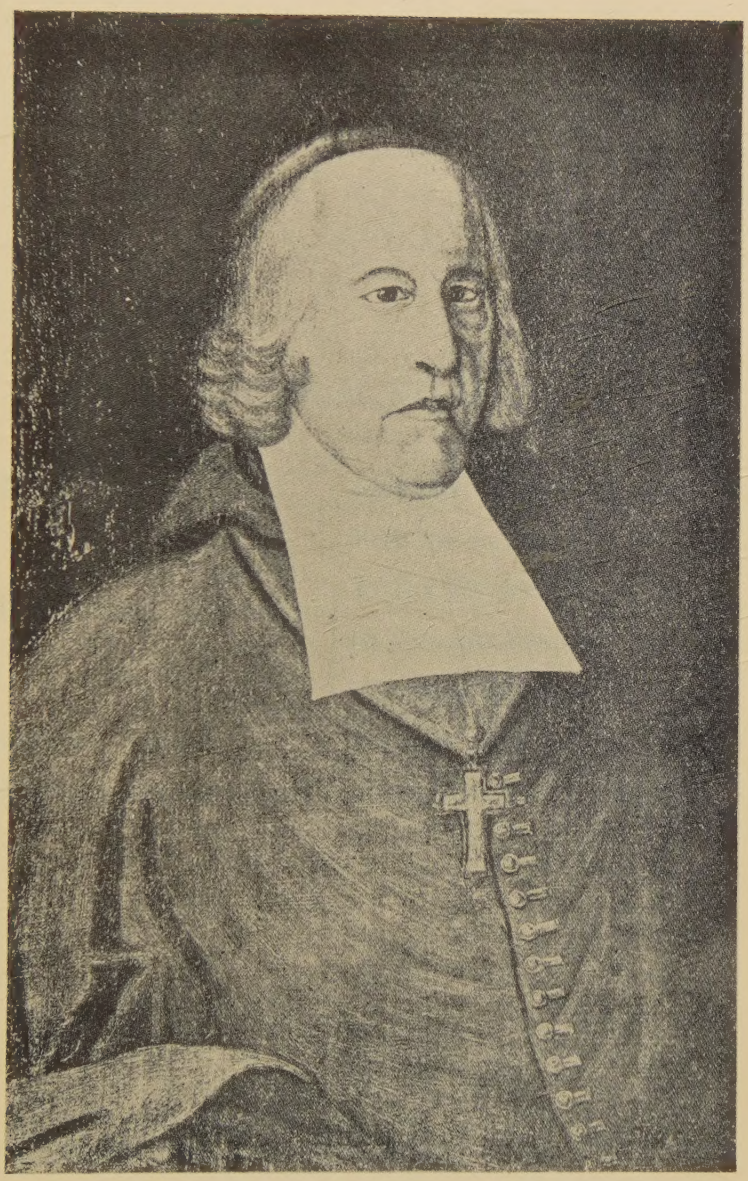

JEAN-BAPTISTE DE SAINT-VALLIER.

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PREFACE TO VOL. LXIV

Following is a synopsis of the documents contained in this volume:

CLIX. Étienne Carheil writes to the governor (now Frontenac) from Mackinac, to warn him of the dissatisfaction prevalent among the Ottawas, who are inclined to form an alliance with the Iroquois. Carheil vigorously denounces the inaction and timidity of recent French policy toward the Iroquois, and says that there is nothing left for the Algonkins save to secure peace as best they can, for the French no longer protect them. The Hurons at Mackinac are really taking the same course as the Ottawas, but are more politic and crafty in their methods. If these tribes are allowed to make peace for themselves, the Iroquois and the Dutch will monopolize the fur trade, to the exclusion of Canada. Carheil warns the governor that he cannot count upon the aid of the upper tribes, if he shall decide to make war upon the Iroquois. They have released the prisoners from that nation, and have forcibly indicated their contempt for the French alliance; their reasons for this are given at length. They reproach the French with weakness and cowardice, and taunt them with having accomplished so little in the Seneca campaigns. They regard the French alliance as also injurious to their trade, in which they get

more advantage from the English. Carheil, after summarizing the case, adds: "From this it will be seen that our savages are much more enlightened than one thinks; and that it is difficult to conceal from their penetration anything in the course of affairs that may injure or serve their interests." He urges, accordingly, vigorous measures by the governor against either the Iroquois or their inciters, the Dutch.

CLX. Michel Germain de Couvert writes to a friend an account of the English expedition of 1690 against Quebec. The enemy, on October 16, summon the city to surrender, on an hour's notice; but Frontenac refers them, for answer, to his cannon. They inflict a heavy cannonade upon the town, but with only slight damage; and make two raids upon neighboring settlements. Within ten days from their arrival, they restore the French prisoners, and depart for Boston. The English sustain severe losses, which are mentioned in detail. Many interesting particulars of the siege are recounted. The success of the French is ascribed to the intercession of the Virgin Mary, which kindles anew the fervor of her votaries. The Lorette colony sends its warriors to repel the English; a false rumor that the enemy is approaching causes the other Hurons to take immediate flight to the woods, whither the missionaries accompany them. The land expedition undertaken, at the same time, by the English against Montreal is also compelled by sickness to retrace its route,— "a second stroke from the hand of our good God to overthrow the designs of our enemies upon poor Canada."

CLXI. Bruyas also writes (April 5, 1691) to Frontenac, regarding matters at Sault St. Louis. An Iroquois and Dutch army have captured some Sault Indians, but have given these freedom. Three Mohawk chiefs then go to the Sault, claiming to desire peace. Bruyas relates the proceedings of a council held there between these deputies and the Christian Indians. He thinks that the Mohawks really wish peace, and hastens to lay the whole matter before the governor, for his information and guidance. The Dutch have promised to send back certain French prisoners, now held at Albany.

CLXII. Pierre Milet relates, in a letter to some of his Jesuit brethren, his capture by the Onondagas in 1689, and his experiences among the Oneidas, during the succeeding two years. He is seized by the former, while on their way to commit the terrible massacre at Lachine. They present him to the Oneidas, among whom are some influential Christian savages, who cause his adoption into a family where the chieftainship is hereditary; he thus becomes virtually a chief of the tribe. The English are greatly displeased thereat, and make repeated efforts to induce the Oneidas to surrender Milet to them; but the savages refuse to do so, and Milet is thus able to exert among them a strong influence for French interests, against the English. He is allowed liberty to live as he chooses, but within the Oneida village.

CLXIII. This is a sketch of a memorial to be sent to Count de Pontchartrain, recounting the services rendered to the French in Canada by the Christian Iroquois at Sault St. Louis. During the late war, these Indians did excellent service as scouts, and brought in many prisoners. They have refused to

abandon their religion, for which they have suffered torture and even death, remaining constant to the last breath. Nearly half of their warriors have perished while fighting in aid of the French; the widows and orphans of these men are in great poverty, and the king is requested to extend them aid.

CLXIV. Claude Chauchetière writes to his brother Jean (August 7, 1694) an account of affairs in Canada at that time. He describes some recent eclipses, and compares their appearance in Canada with that in France. Iberville, who has gone to Hudson Bay to take Port Nelson from the English, wished Chauchetière to go with him; but Silvy has been sent instead.

A bitter ecclesiastical war is going on between Bishop St. Vallier and the Jesuits and Récollets. The bishop has adopted arbitrary measures in various matters; he also inveighs against Callières, governor of Montreal, who has always been one of Chauchetière's penitents, and even threatens the latter with interdict. The Father relates various instances of his combats with St. Vallier over ecclesiastical affairs.

The Sault Christians, especially those belonging to "Catherine's band," continue in Christian fervor and practice. The women have given up gambling; and confraternities are being formed, especially among the young girls. The pious deaths of two Iroquois women, captured and burned by their pagan tribesmen, are recounted in detail. The writer thinks that piety like theirs would prevail among the savages, were it not for the intemperance that has become so general among them; "and our

bishop, who is so zealous, has not yet ventured to open his mouth to banish drunkenness from his diocese." The missionaries wish that they could take their beloved savages far away from the French, to remove them from temptations to vice.

Chauchetière mentions the ecclesiastical relations between the Sulpitians and the Jesuits; and the good work which Milet is doing in his captivity at Oneida. He then describes the comfort and prosperity that Canada now enjoys. Agriculture is successfully pursued; and the Sulpitians have a vineyard of French grapes, which is now producing fruit. Other kinds of fruit are enumerated as growing and ripening at Montreal; and this year is seen, for the first time, a white lily, which grows in the Jesuit garden.

The Sulpitians have recently dedicated their church at Montreal. Chauchetière sends his brother some curiosities from the New World — a piece of bread made by an Illinois savage from wild fruit, and a specimen of buffalo's fur. The summer has been cold and rainy this year; and, for the first time in the history of Montreal, the melon crop is a failure. The Jesuit college there, in which Chauchetière teaches mathematics, may have to be given up, for lack of funds to maintain it. Various items of information about himself and others are given; and a postscript pathetically says, "I must preach, but I have no sermons."

CLXV. Chauchetière writes (September 20, 1694) to a friend in Bordeaux. The Cayugas and Senecas are asking for peace, but Frontenac haughtily declines their proposals, and gives them thirty days wherein to accede to his terms. Meanwhile, the other Iroquois tribes are intriguing with the English at

Albany. The missionaries, however, find much consolation in the piety and faith of the Sault Christians. The martyrdom of these, described in the preceding document, is again told here, briefly. Two Jesuits have come out this year; one of these is Pinet, who at once goes to the Western missions. Chauchetière mentions various matters of interest,—the capture of a ship, with several priests on board, who are sent back to France; the French expedition to Hudson Bay; his class at Montreal in mathematics and navigation; his other occupations; the difficulties with the bishop, etc.

CLXVI. This is Jacques Gravier's report (dated February 15, 1694) to his superior at Quebec, Bruyas, of the mission among the Illinois tribes. Returning to them from the Miamis, in April, 1693, Gravier dedicates his new chapel at the French fort near Peoria. The savages residing at this place send, in May, envoys to secure an alliance with the Missouri and Osage tribes. Gravier observes among the Peorias great indifference to his instruction, and learns that the leading elders are opposed to the faith; and that, while they receive him in friendly manner, "in order to save appearances," they try to prevent their people from going to the chapel for prayer and instruction, "until the corn was ripe, and the harvest over." Gravier also encounters an obstacle in the superstitious dread of baptism as causing death. On June 10, he gives a feast, at which he rebukes the people for their neglect of religion, and warns them of their danger. As most of the adults persist in their infidelity, the Father devotes himself to the instruction of the children. He recounts the conversion of a young widow who,

in the midst of corruption, seems to be saintly by nature.

About June 20, the envoys sent to the Sioux tribes return, with deputies from those tribes. Gravier longs for aid in his mission, that he may visit these new tribes and instruct them. He relates some instances of the opposition made to his labors by the Peoria chief, who is a leading medicine-man, and by others of that craft. The Kaskaskia chief has married his daughter to a French trader; through the influence of the latter, he becomes a convert to Christianity, and openly professes his faith. An epidemic of disease appears in the village, "after they began to eat new corn, squashes, watermelons, and other half-ripe fruits." Gravier tries to baptize the sick, especially the children, but is often repulsed; and many even blame him and his preaching for the disease. He describes certain of the superstitious observances that he has seen among these savages. During the late summer, he visits the people in their cornfields outside the village, and, on September 26, nearly all the inhabitants depart to their winter quarters. He is able, although with great difficulty, to administer some baptisms among these people before their departure; among them is the daughter of the new Peoria chief.

Gravier relates the circumstances attending the marriage of Ako, the French trader, with the daughter of the Kaskaskia chief. At first she refuses to marry, desiring to live only for God. Her father drives her from his cabin, and blames Gravier for her disobedience. All the people are ordered to stay away from the chapel, but some refuse to obey. The French commandant not only refuses to support

the Father, but reviles and slanders him. "God granted me," he says, "the grace to bear all these humiliations in a quite tranquil state of mind, it seems to me." Finally, the girl consents to marry Ako, and her father makes an abject apology to Gravier. The husband, although a dissolute man, is thoroughly converted by his Indian wife's piety. This girl, although only seventeen years old, does wonders as a missionary helper,—instructing, rebuking, or pleading, as the case may require.

Gravier accomplished much for the instruction of his flock by a series of pictures illustrating the Bible, in which task Marie aids him greatly, making his explanations even more intelligible to their minds than he can. The Father also gives instruction in the catechism; his cabin is so crowded that people cannot stir, and "the most arrogant become like children," at this exercise. "It is true that the hope of getting a red bead, which is a fruit of the size of a small bean, which has been sent to us from Martinique and other islands (Oh, that I had a bushel of them!), or a needle, a medal, a cross, or a rosary (especially if it be red), a small knife, or other curious object, given as a reward, incites the children to answer well; but they must answer very well for several days, to obtain either the rosary, the red bead, or a cross, and for the other articles in proportion." By March, Gravier finds it necessary to enlarge the chapel, because so many come to it. He is greatly encouraged by the docility of these people, and the blessings that follow his labors among them. He had baptized 206 persons during the months of April to November, inclusive, in 1693. The influence of the converted chief and his family is a

valuable aid to the missionary's efforts; "or rather they do all, and I do nothing, or almost nothing." He requests more missionaries from France for this field.

CLXVII. Jean de Lamberville, now in Paris, writes (January 23, 1695) to a missionary friend in China. He gives an outline of affairs connected with the Iroquois during the last ten years. He mentions his attempts to secure peace between those savages and the French, and the perfidious actions of Denonville toward both himself and the Iroquois; also the captivity and release of Milet.

Lamberville is in great danger, in consequence of Denonville's treachery toward the Iroquois; and his English friends at Albany offer him a horse and escort to go to them for refuge, which he declines. The Iroquois, learning of French treachery, notify Lamberville to leave their country; he then goes to Fort Frontenac, to serve as chaplain. An epidemic of scurvy breaking out among the garrison, the missionary falls ill with it, and is at the point of death. A French officer removes him to Montreal,—dragged over snow and ice in the depth of winter, during a week's journey,—where the Sulpitians take care of him. His health being partially restored, he returns to France.

Before leaving Canada, Lamberville goes to meet an Iroquois army who have come to attack Montreal, in order to make peace with them, if possible. He secures a truce; but, two months later, Iroquois envoys on their way to Montreal are treacherously assassinated by Hurons, and war again rages. The Iroquois now declare that the French need not hope

for peace with them until they also secure it with the English.

CLXVIII. Gabriel Marest sends to the father-general an account (dated October, 1695) of his recent expedition to Hudson Bay, whither he goes with Iberville's expedition. Marest describes the capture of the fort; the sickness which prevails among the French during the winter, and his labors in their behalf; the aspect of that far Northern region, and the leading characteristics of its savage inhabitants. Marest uses what little leisure he can secure in learning the language of these people, and does what he can for their conversion.

R. G. T.

Madison, Wis., February, 1900.

CLIX, CLX

DOCUMENTS OF 1689-90

CLIX.— Lettre ecrite à M. le Gouverneur Général de la [nouvelle] france Septentrionale. Etienne Carheil; [Mackinac, 1689]

CLX.— Relation de la defaite des Anglois a Quebec. Michel Germain DeCouvert; [Quebec, Octobre, 1690]

SOURCES: Doc. CLIX. we obtain from an apograph in the Legislative Archives of Quebec. Doc. CLX. is from an incomplete MS. (possibly a contemporary apograph) in the Archives Nationales, at Paris.

Lettre ecrite par le Rev'd. Père Carheil, Missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus à M. le Gouverneur Général de la [nouvelle] france Septentrionale.

JE suis bien fâché de me voir obligé à vous écrire celle ci pour vous donner avis que nous voilà enfin reduits à l'état ou j'ai toujours cru que l'espérance de la paix nous devait réduire je n'ai jamais douté qu'elle ne fut impossible, non plus que tous ceux qui connoissent le mieux par l'expérience d'une longue demeure le génie de l'Iroquois et surtout l'onnontagué le plus fourbe de tous, quelque peine que nous ayons eue jusqu'au temps quel'on avait marqué pour l'assemblée à soutenir l'esprit de nos pauvres sauvages dans le déplaiser continuel que leur causaient les négociations d'une paix qu'ils savaient n'être que mendiée à force de caresses, d'honneurs et de présents, et qui par conséquent étaient autant de témoignages publics de notre faiblesse, nous n'avions pas laissé toutefois d'être assez heureux pour les retenir dans leur devoir jusqu'à ce terme après cela c'était a ceux qui Gouvernaient ces négociations de montrer par effet la vérité de ce qu'il promettaient et de faire voir a nos peuples l'ennemi qu'ils croyaient devenu docile et soumis à leur Volonté, mais hélas dans le temps qu'il le fallait faire, qu'ont ils eu? que des maisons brulées, que des français tués ou captifs, que des chevelures enleuées, que

Letter written by Reverend Father Carheil, Missionary of the Society of Jesus, to Monsieur the Governor-General of Northern new france.

I AM very sorry to see myself compelled to write you this letter, to inform you that we are at last reduced to the condition to which I have always believed that the hope of peace would reduce us.[1] I have never doubted that peace was impossible — nor have all those who, from the experience of a long residence among them, know the dispositions of the Iroquois, and especially of the onnontagué, the most treacherous of all. Notwithstanding the difficulty that we had up to the time designated for the assembly, in sustaining the minds of our poor savages amid the continual displeasure caused them by the negotiations for a peace,— which they knew to be only begged for, by dint of attentions, of honors, and of presents; and which, consequently, were but so many public proofs of our weakness,— we were, nevertheless, fortunate enough to maintain them in their duty until that time. After that it was for those who Conducted those negotiations to demonstrate by performance the truth of what they had promised; and to let our tribes see the enemy who, as they supposed, had become docile and submissive to their Will. But alas! at the time that this should have been done, what had they obtained? Nothing but houses burned, french killed or captured, scalps

des corps éventrés, qu'un dégait universel de toute la chine qui devait cependant êtres alors la mieux gardé de tous les Côtés, et enfin qu'une consternation universelle de tout Montréal. Ce n'est pas le succès que leur promettaient des ambassades et Conférences de paix, mais c'est celui qu'il Craignaient et dont la crainte ferait toute leur peine. que veut on maintenant qu'ils pensent; que veut on qu'ils fassent? voyant, comme ils disent, Onnontio trompe et vaincu jusqu'à present par l'ennemi, quelle espérance peut-il leur rester de sa protection, lorsqu'ils n'y voyent que de la foiblesse et de l'impuissance a ton pu croire qu'après leur départ de Montréal où ils venaient de voir les Iroquois triompher durant toute la Campagne, qu'on lui laissait libre ils eussent encore d'autre parti à prendre que celui qui nous obligea à faire la guerre pour leur en imposer, ils voulaient alors faire eux memes leur paix par leur propres négociations avec l'ennemi qui avait amené quantité de leurs gens qu'ils tenaient Captifs; on les en empêcha, et on leur fit prendre le parti de la guerre avec nous, mais comme au lieu de la continuer, sitôt le premier desseins qu'on en avait formé, on le Changea, Je ne sais comment, est des negociations de paix qui ont donné le temps et les moyens à l'ennemi non seulement d'être leur vainqueur Comme auparavant, mais d'être le nôtre: ils se voient aujourd'hui reduits de nouveau par cette Conduite de pure inaction à prendre encore le même parti, et à faire sans la participation d'onnontio ce qu'ils auraient voulu qu'il fit par lui.

Ils ont donc conclu dans leur Conseil, d'un Consentement universel, après leur retour de Montréal

taken, and bodies ripped open; but a universal destruction of all la chine[2] — which should, nevertheless, have been the best guarded on all Sides; and, finally, but universal consternation throughout the whole of Montréal. This is not the success promised them by embassies and peace Conferences, but it is that which they Feared, and the dread whereof would constitute all their trouble. What do we wish them to think now; what do we wish them to do? When, as they say, they see Onnontio deceived and vanquished up to the present by the enemy, what hope can they still retain of his protection when they see naught but weakness and impotence? Can one suppose that, after their departure from Montréal,— where they had just seen the Iroquois triumph throughout the whole Campaign, during which he was allowed to do as he pleased,— they could take any other action than that which compelled us to carry on war to overawe him? They then undertook to make peace themselves, through their own negotiations with the enemy, who had taken away many of their people, whom they were holding as Captives. Our savages were prevented from doing so, and were induced to resolve upon carrying on war with us. But, instead of continuing it, as soon as the first decision was taken it was Changed, I know not how, into negotiations for peace; that gave the enemy both time and means to vanquish not only them, As formerly, but also ourselves. They now see themselves, by this Conduct of pure inaction, reduced once more to the necessity of again taking the same step, and of doing, without onnontio's participation, what they would have desired him to do.

de rentrer dans l'Amitié et dans l'alliance de notre ennemi par une Ambassade qu'ils envoyent aux sonnontouans Et ensuite aux autres nations pour ménager leur paix.

Ils n'y auront point de peines puisqu'elles les doit séparer de nous, puisque ce sont nos plus grandes forces qu'elle va nous ôter pour les leur donner et que les ambassadeurs sont leurs prisonniers mêmes que La *Petite Racine* accompagné de quelques autres outaouas doit aller remettre entre leurs mains, au reste ce n'est plus un dessain caché qu'ils veuillent dérober a notre connoissance et que nous ayans appris en secret par des personnes de confidence, mais aime affaire de notoriété publique, et qu'ils ont voulu nous faire savoir par une déclaration soleneîle en plein Conseil.

Quoique le huron soit de la partie autant et peut être plus quel'Outaouais néanmoins comme il est toujours plus politique pour se ménager avec nous que ne sont les autres, il n'a pas parlé avec tant d'amertume et tant de hauteur quel'Outaouas. Il s'est contenté de dire qu'il était trop enfant pour se méler d'une entreprise de cette nature et de vouloir y former quelque opposition, qu'il laissait faire ses frères qui croyaient avoir en cela plus d'esprit que lui; que c'était a eux de répondre de l'événement, et non pas à lui qui avait beaucoup moins de pénetration qu'ils n'en avaient. Je ne doute point que dans l'execution il ne doive faire bien plus qu'ils ne dit, mais c'est qu'à près toute l'incertitude de quelques changement de fortune qui peut arriver de nôtre côté en apprenant d'autres résolutions l'oblige encore

Therefore, in their Council held since their return from Montréal, they have resolved by unanimous Consent to regain the Friendship and alliance of our enemy, by means of an Embassy which they are sending to the sonnontouans, And afterward to the other nations, to obtain peace.

They will have no difficulty, because it will separate them from us; because it will take away our greatest strength from us, to give it to the enemy; and because the ambassadors are their own prisoners, whom La *Petite Racine*, accompanied by some other outaouas, is to deliver into the hands of the Iroquois. Moreover, it is no longer a hidden design that they wish to conceal from our knowledge, and which we have secretly learned from confidential sources; but it is a matter of public notoriety, and one which they have chosen to tell us by a solemn declaration in full Council.

Although the huron be concerned in it perhaps even more than is the Outaouais, nevertheless, as he is always more politic than the others in keeping on good terms with us, he did not speak with so much bitterness and arrogance as did the Outaouas. He contented himself with saying that he was too much of a child to interfere in an undertaking of that nature, or to seek to raise any opposition to it; that he left his brothers to act, as they thought that they had more sense than he regarding that matter; that it was for them to be answerable for the result, and not for him, who had much less penetration than they. I have no doubt that, in the execution of the project, he will do much more than he says; but it is, after all, the uncertainty of some change of fortune which may happen in our favor on learning of other

d'user de cette reserve, pour avoir par là quelque lieu de ressource auprès de nous.

Voilà Monseigneur, où en sont nos affaires en ces quartiers, c'est à dire, dans la dernière extrèmité où elles puissent arriver, puisque la fin de cette ambassade ne peut être que celle d'amener au plustôt et l'Iroquois et le flamand, l'Iroquois comme maitre de la guerre, le flamand comme maître de la traiter et du commerce, l'un et l'autre comme souverains de tous ces peuples à notre exclusion, c'est ce qui est infaillible, et qui se va exécuter avec tant de diligence et de promptitude que je ne sais si vous aurez le temps d'en pouvoir prévenir l'exécution; ils se sont hâtés de conclure l'ambassade dans la crainte qu'ils avaient, qu'après la defaite des francais a Montréal d'esperant d'obtenir jamais par la voie de negociations une véritable paix l'on ne prit enfin une bonne fois la résolution de faire la guerre et qu'ensuite il ne leur vint un ordre pour cela de votre part, c'est à quoi il ne faut plus penser, puisqu'il est trop tard; il le fallait faire lorsqu'ils étaient encore à Montréal immédiatement après le coup fait par les ennemis, ils le souhaitaient et on les y eut trouvés tous disposés mais présentement il ne faut plus compter sur eux pour la guerre depuis le depart de leurs ambassadeurs qui les obligent à se tenir en repos pour attendre leur retour et le succès de leur negociation.

Toutes les Cérémonies d'honneur que l'on a faites aux prisonniers la veille de leur renvoie par la célébre dans du calumet, qui est une Marque publique d'alliance, ne nous fait que trop voir dequelle manière Et avec quelle fermeté ils seront unis ensemble contre

resolutions, that compels him still to employ this reserve, so that he may thereby have some hold upon us.

Such, Monseigneur, is the state of affairs in this quarter,—that is to say, at the last extremity which they can reach. For the result of that embassy can only be to bring at once both the Iroquois and the fleming—the Iroquois as the master in war; the fleming as the master in trade and in commerce; and both as sovereigns of all these nations, to our exclusion. This is infallible, and will happen with such diligence and promptness that I know not whether you will have time to forestall its execution. They have hastened to conclude the embassy, through fear that, after the defeat of the french at Montréal, and in despair of ever obtaining a firm and lasting peace by means of negotiations, it might be decided once for all to make war; and that afterward an order might come from you to do so. This must no longer be thought of, because it is too late. It should have been done while they were still at Montréal, immediately after the blow struck by the enemy. They then desired it and all would have been found ready for it; but at present they must not be relied upon for the war, since the departure of their ambassadors, which compels them to remain quiet to await their return and the result of their negotiations.

All the Ceremonial honors paid to the prisoners on the eve of their dismissal, by the famous calumet dance, which is a public Token of alliance, shows us but too clearly in what manner And how firmly they will be united against us. But what makes this still more evident is that, at the very moment when they were giving these public proofs of esteem to the prisoners whom they were about to send away, they

nous. Mais ce qui nous le fait voir encore d'avantage, c'est qu'en mêmes temps qu'ils donnaient ces témoignages publics d'estime aux prisonniers qu'ils allaient renvoyer ils donnaient tout au Contraire des moyens des mépris qu'ils faisaient de notre alliance et de votre protection, comme nous nous opposions fortement à ce renvoie, en leur representant l'ordre qu'Onnontio nous donnait par ces derniers de faire en sorte qu'ils gardassent paisiblement sur la natte leurs prisonniers jusqu'à ce qu'il leur fit savoir ses dernières volontés touchant leurs personnes, ils ne laissent pas de s'entenir à ce qu'ils avaient conclu entr'eux, et pour nous montrer que ce n'était pas sans beaucoup de sujets qu'ils s'engagaient à cette entreprise, ils voulurent nous en donner publiquement les raisons.

Elles se reduisent toutes à une principale qui est que la protection d'onnontio sur laquelle ils avaient fondé toute leur espérance d'etre delivrés de leur ennemi n'était pas telle qu'ils s'etaient faussement imaginés que jusqu'à présent ils avaient toujours cru le français guerrier, soit pour sa multitude, soit pour son Courage, soit pour l'abondance et la diversité des instruments de guerre qu'il savait faire, mais que l'expérience leur avait fait voir qu'il l'était beaucoup moins que l'Iroquois, qu'ils ne s'etonnaient plus s'ils avaient été si longtemps sans rien entreprendre pour leur défense, que c'était la connoissance de sa propre foiblesse qui les empêchait qu'après avoir vu avec quelle lâcheté il s'était laissé de faire cette dernière fois à Montréal, il leur était évident qu'ils n'avaient plus rien à attendre de sa protection, que non seulement elle leur était inutile par son impuissance, mais

on the Other hand expressed the contempt they felt for our alliance and for your protection. When we strongly opposed their sending the prisoners away, and represented to them the order given us by Onnontio in his last commands,—to make them keep their prisoners quiet on their mats, until he made known to them his last wishes with regard to their captives,—they nevertheless persisted in the agreement made between them; and to show us that they were not entering upon that undertaking without having considerable cause therefor, they wished to give us their reasons publicly.

These may all be reduced to one prime reason, which is, that onnontio's protection—on which they had based all their hopes of being delivered from their enemies—was not what they had wrongly imagined it to be; that hitherto they had always thought that the frenchman was warlike through numbers, through Courage, and through the number and diversity of the implements of war that he could make. Experience had shown them, however, that he was much less so than the Iroquois; and they were no longer surprised that he had remained so long without doing anything for their defense, since it was the knowledge of his own weakness that hindered him. After seeing the cowardly manner in which he had allowed himself to be defeated on this last occasion at Montréal, it was evident to them that they could no longer expect anything from his protection; not only was it useless to them owing to his powerlessness, but it had even become injurious to them, because of the difficulties in which it had inopportunely placed them, through his seeking to save himself.

quelle leur était même devenue nuisible par les engagements où elle les avait jetés mal a propos pour tâcher lui même de se dégager.

Premièrement donc que son impuissance avait été visible dès là premiere attaque qui fut donnée à Sonnontouans où la vigoureuse résistance de l'ennemi à laquelle il ne s'attendait pas l'ayant étonné, il n'osa le poursuivre dans la suite se contentant de faire la guerre aux blés et aux écorces qui ne resistaient pas comme lui que depuis il n'avait pu ni osé rien faire que de continuelles negociations pour mendier la paix par la necessité de son impuissance, et par toutes sortes d'abaissements, qui ne montraient que trop sa faiblesse. Que bien loin de se disposer a aller de nouveau attaquer l'ennemi, dans son pays, il n'osait même pas de défendre, lorsqu'il en etait attaqué de tous côtés que contre toutes les apparences et même contre des évidences et des experiences du contraire il s'opiniatrait à attendre la paix, de peur d'être obligé de se battre, aimant mieux tous souffrir que de retourner au Combat, que tant s'en faut qu'il leur eût fait rendre leurs prisonniers, ce qui était le sujet de la guerre qu'au Contraire on l'avait obligé de rendre lui même ceux qu'ils n'avaient eus que par trahison, jusqu'à faire revenir de france ceux qu'on y avait envoyés, et cela lorsque l'ennemi fort éloigné de penser à renvoyer les siens, les faisait bruler publiquement sur les chemains publics et dans tous ses bourgs: que dans la dernière descente de l'ennemi à Montréal au lieu d'opposer armée á armée et l'attendre de pied ferme pour lui livrer bataille, puisqu'il avait appris son approche avant qu'il arrivât, il s'était renfermé dans des forts, lui laissant la

In the first place, then, Onnontio's powerlessness had been manifest at the very first attack upon Sonnontouans, wherein the unexpected and vigorous resistance of the enemy surprised him and he did not afterward dare to pursue him,— contenting himself with warring against the corn and the bark houses, that did not offer resistance like the foe. Since then, he had never been able, nor had he ventured, to do anything beyond continual negotiations to beg for peace, rendered necessary by his own powerlessness, and accompanied by humiliations of all kinds, which but too clearly manifested his weakness. Moreover, very far from preparing to go to attack the enemy again in his own country, he did not even venture to defend himself when he was attacked on all sides; but in spite of all appearances, and even of evidence and experience, to the contrary, he persisted in waiting for peace, for fear that he might be compelled to fight, preferring to endure all rather than again to have recourse to Battle. Far from compelling the foe to surrender his prisoners, which was the object of the war, he had himself, on the Contrary, been compelled to surrender those whom he had seized solely through treachery; and even to bring back from france those who had been sent thither,[8]— and this when the enemy was very far from thinking of sending back his own, but burned them publicly on the highways and in all the villages. In the last descent of the enemy upon Montréal, instead of opposing army to army, and standing his ground, and giving battle, when he had heard of his approach before his arrival he shut himself up in his forts,— leaving the country open to the foe to burn and ravage, which he did. He did not seem to know

campagne libre pour brûler et ravager tout comme il a fait, qu'il ne paraissait pas qu'il sût aller à la découverte ou du moins qu'il n'osait pas le faire de peur de s'exposer au danger d'être découvert lui méme le premier, que par toutes ces preuves si manifestes, il était aisé de voir que le français est si peu en état de les protéger qu'il ne peut pas se défendre lui même: jusques là qu'il s'était vu obligé de recourir à la protection de l'Anglais pour le prier par un Ambassadeur envoyé exprès a Orange d'arrêter les continuelles irruptions de l'Iroquois.

Mais que ce qui leur déplairait d'avantage est que la protection des français outre quelle leur est inutile par son impuissance leur est même nuisible tant pour le commerce que pour la guerre pour le Commerce, par ce quelle leur ôte malgré eux la traite de l'anglais qui leur était incomparablement avantageux pour les tenir uniquement attaché à la sienne contre. toutes les lois de la protection qui consistent à maintenir. Ceux que l'on protege dans la liberté de leur commerce, autrement que ce n'était plus une protection, mais une veritable usurpation; pour la guerre, parceque depuis son commencement, toute la conduite des français à leur egard n'a été que de ne rien faire de son côté contre l'ennemi, et de vouloir que de leur côté ils fissent tout, que partant si ils ne fissent des marches contre lui pour qu'il les arrêtât à Cataro-Kouy, qu'ils fissent quelques beaux coups pour qu'il y satisfit par des presents et pleurât les morts, qu'ils fissent des captifs pour qu'il les delivrât de leurs liens et les renvoyât aux ennemis, que ça éte la toute la Conduite jusqu'à présent, Conduite qui était pleine de duplicité, puisque evidemment elle ne tendait qu'à

that he should go out to reconnoiter,—or, at least, he did not dare to do so, lest he might expose himself to the danger of being the first discovered. From all these evident proofs, it was easy to see that the frenchman is so little in a position to protect them that he cannot even defend himself,—so much so, that he had been compelled to have recourse to the protection of the English, and to beg them, through an Ambassador sent expressly for the purpose to Orange, to check the continual incursions of the Iroquois.

But what most displeases them is, that the alliance of the frenchman, besides being useless to them through his powerlessness, is also injurious to them, both for commerce and for war. It is so in Commerce, because it takes away from them, against their will, the trade of the english, which was incomparably more advantageous to them, in order to keep them bound to Onnontio's. This is contrary to all the laws of protection, which consist in maintaining in the liberty of their trade Those whom one protects; for otherwise it is no longer a protection, but a veritable usurpation. The french alliance also injures them in war — because, from its commencement, the whole conduct of the frenchman toward them has consisted in doing nothing on his side against the enemy, and only in expecting them, on their side, to do everything. Thus, if they did not march against the enemy to stop him at Catarokouy, they should strike some telling blows, in order that he might give satisfaction by presents, and weep for the dead; that they should make prisoners, in order that he might free them from their bonds, and send them back to the foes of these tribes. Such had been

les engager à attirer sur eux toute la guerre, et se dégageant entièrement par la paix qu'il tachait de faire dans cette vue; que s'il n'avait point d'autre protection à leur donner qu'une paix de cette nature, ils aiment mieux se protéger eux mêmes et aller negocier leur paix par leur propre action, que de demeurer abandonnés par la france aux vengeances certaines de leur ennemi qu'ils ne voyaient pas pourquoi onnontio renvoyait les captifs, ne voulait pas que de leur côté ils renvoyassent les leurs, ni quelle protections il y avait pour eux en cela: qu'à le bien examiné ils n'y trouvaient rien que d'entièrement contraire à la protection, qu'une volonté à les engager à être les victimes de ceux auxquels ils n'avaient pas rendu eux mêmes leurs Captif, que dans tous les Mouvements qu'il les avait obligés de faire contre les Iroquois pendant qu'il demeurait immobile et dans l'inaction c'était plustot eux qui le protégeaient que ce n'etait lui qui les protégeait, qu'après tout cela ils s'etonnoient qu'à leur dernière entrevue à Montréal il les eût menacés de les abandonner. Comme s'il ne l'avait pas fait depuis longtemps, et que toute sa conduite n'eût pas été un abandon tacite et secret de tous leurs intérets qui ne pouvaient nullement s'accorder avec les negociations de paix qu'il ferait continuellement.

Ce sont là Monseigneur, toutes les raisons qu'ils nous ont apportées pour nous Convaincre de la necessité où ils étaient de faire cette Ambassade à Sonnontouans par où l'on peut voir que nos sauvages sont beaucoup plus éclairés qu'on ne pense, et qu'il est difficile de rien cacher à leur pénétration de tout ce qui peut nuire ou servir à leurs intérets dans les

his whole Conduct up to the present — a Conduct full of duplicity, since evidently it tended solely to induce them to bear the whole brunt of the war, while he completely extricated himself by the peace that he tried to make with that object. They said that, if he had no other protection to give them than a peace of that nature, they preferred to protect themselves, and to go to negotiate their peace by their own acts, rather than let themselves be abandoned by france to the certain vengeance of their enemy. They did not see why onnontio sent back his captives, and would not let them send back theirs, or what protection he gave them in doing this; but, on examining closely, they found nothing that was not entirely opposed to protection,— nothing but a wish to induce them to be the victims of those to whom they themselves had not restored their Captives. In all the Attacks that he had compelled them to make upon the Iroquois, while he remained motionless and inactive, it was rather they who protected him than he who protected them. After all this, they were surprised that, at their last interview in Montréal, he had threatened to abandon them,— As if he had not long done so; and as if his whole conduct had not been a tacit and secret abandonment of all their interests, which could in no wise agree with the negotiations for peace that he would continually carry on.

Such, Monseigneur, are all the reasons that they gave us, to Convince us of the necessity in which they were placed of sending that Embassy to Sonnontouans. From this it will be seen that our savages are much more enlightened than one thinks; and that it is difficult to conceal from their penetration

affaires; le respect que je dois à la conduite de toutes les personnes auxquelles Dieu a donné la puissance de nous gouverner, m'aurait fait un scrupule de vous exposer avec autant de liberté que je viens de faire des sentiments aussi désavantageux que le sont ceux là. Si je n'avais cru que le bien public demandait que vous le sussiez tels qu'ils les ont pour juger par la disposition de leur esprit, de ce qu'ils sont capables de faire contre nous en faveur de notre ennemy, et du remède qu'il y faut apporter, ce qui est certain c'est que si l'Iroquois n'est arrêté par la grandeur des affaires qu'on lui fera là bas de votre côté, ou par celles qu'on fera aux flamands, qui sont le principe de ses mouvements il ne manquera pas de venir ici se rendre maître de tout. Ce nous est assez que vous le sachiez pour vous reposer ensuite sur les lumièrs de votre sagesse, et malgré le danger où nous sommes, vivre dans une parfaite assurance attendant à voir de quelle manière il plaira à la divine providence de disposer de nous.

Je suis avec un veritable
Et profond respect
Monseigneur,
Votre très humble, très
Obéissant Serviteur
ETIENNE CARHEIL, religieux
de la Compagnie de Jésus.

[Endorsed: "Reçue, par Mr le Comte de frontenac. A Quebec le 17 Septembre 1690"]

anything in the course of affairs that may injure or serve their interests. The respect that I owe to the rule of all persons to whom God has given the power of government over us would have made me scruple to communicate to you, as freely as I have done, sentiments so unfavorable as these, had I not believed that the public welfare demanded that you should know them, just as they exist among the savages. I do so in order that you may thereby judge of the disposition of their minds, of what they are capable of doing against us in favor of our enemy, and of the remedy to be applied. It is certain that, if the Iroquois be not checked by the extent of the operations against him on your side down below, or of those against the flemings, who originate his movements, he will not fail to come here to make himself master of everything. It is sufficient for us that you should know it, to rely thereafter upon the enlightenment of your wisdom; and, in spite of the danger in which we are placed, to live in entire confidence, waiting to see in what manner divine providence shall please to dispose of us.

I remain with true
And profound respect,
Monseigneur,
Your very humble and very
Obedient Servant,
ETIENNE CARHEIL, religious
of the Society of Jesus.

[Endorsed: "Received by Monsieur the Count de frontenac, At Quebec, September 17, 1690."]

Relation de la defaite des Anglois a Quebec

LES Anglois de Baston apres auoir pris le port-royal et toute l'Acadie et apres auoir pillé L'Isle Percée, de la maniere que vous l'aués apparemment deja apris, sont enfin venus au mois d'octobre par la riuiere St Laurens auec une flotte de 30 Vaisseaux pour prendre Quebec. Jls ont dabord enlevé 3. de nos barques qu'ils ont rencontrées dans la riuiere: Jls ont paru a la rade de Quebec le 16 d'octobre. Le mesme jour ils ont sommé par escrit M^{r}. le gouverneur de leur donner toutes les munitions de bouche et de guerre, de raser tous les forts, de leur abandonner a discretion et les biens et les personnes des habitans, et qu'apres cela on parleroit d'accommodement; qu'au reste ils ne donnoient qu'une heure pour deliberer sur cela. on leur a répondu a l'jnstant mesme, qu'on esperoit que Dieu ne fauoriseroit pas des traitres a la religion et a leur Roy legitime; et que la bouche de nos Canons et de nos mousquets alloit repondre a leur lettre. Le 18 sur le soir ils ont fait une descente sur la coste du nord entre Beauport et Quebec au nombre de 1500 hommes auec 5 pieces de canon de 6 a 8 liures de balle: ils ont tué a cette descente 4 francois et en ont blessé 7: ils sont demeurés campés 3 iours a terre, ils y ont bruslé 6. ou 7. metairies, Enleué quelques bestiaux, tué 2. francois Et blessé 13 dans diuers combats qui se sont donnés. Le 21 jls ont

Account of the defeat of the English at Quebec.

THE English of Baston, after having taken port royal and all of Acadia, and after having pillaged Isle Percée in the manner that you have evidently already learned, finally came in the month of october by way of the river St. Lawrencé, with a fleet of 30 Ships, to take Quebec. They took possession at the outset, of 3 of our barks, which they encountered in the river. They appeared in the roadstead of Quebec on the 16th of october. On the same day, they summoned Monsieur the governor in writing to give them all the provisions and military supplies, to raze all the forts, and to surrender to them at discretion both the property and persons of the habitans,—adding that, when this was done, they would talk of an accommodation; furthermore, they would give only one hour for deliberation upon this. They were answered, on the instant, that we expected that God would not favor traitors to religion and to their legitimate King; and that the mouths of our Cannon and our muskets would answer their letter.[4] On the 18th, toward evening, they made a descent upon the north shore, between Beauport and Quebec, to the number of 1,500 men, with 5 pieces of cannon carrying balls of 6 or 8 livres. In this raid they killed 4 frenchmen and wounded 7. They remained 3 days encamped on the land, where they burned 6 or 7 farmsteads, Carried off some cattle, killed 2 frenchmen, And wounded 13 in various com-

abandonné leur camp et ont regagné leurs Vaisseaux a la faueur de la nuict. Depuis le 18 iusquau 20 ils ont terriblement cannonné Quebec, haute et basse Ville: ils ont tiré 1500 coups de canon, qui ont fait pour 15 ou 20 escus de dommage dans Quebec, tué un enfant entre la grande Eglise et notre college, et rien dauantage. Le 23 ils se sont retirés de deuant Quebec et sont allés tenter une descente a lisle d'orleans, mais sans succés. Le 25 estans deja a 5 ou 6. lieües de Quebec jls ont rendu nos francois tant ceux qu ils auoient pris dans nos barques sur la riuiere que les autres quils auoient emmenés de port roial a Baston et quils avoient ensuitte tirés de la prison de Baston pour les mettre sur la flotte et pour s'en seruir dans l'expedition de Quebec; et en rendant nos prisonniers ils ont reçu les leur. Apres quoi ils ont repris la route de Baston Jls ont dit qu'ils reviendront au printemps et on leur a repondu qu'on aura l'honneur de les reuoir auant ce temps la

Voila tout ce que les Anglois ont fait a Quebec. Voicy maintenant ce qu'on leur a fait. 1° on leur a tué prés de 100 hommes et outre cela on Leur en a blesse un fort grand nombre, quand ils ont fait la descente et le reste du temps quils sont demeurés campés a terre. 2°. notre Canon qui portoit des boulets de 18 a extremement endommagé leurs 4 gros Vaiss^{x}. qui battoient Quebec: L'Amiral a dabord perdu son pauillon, il a eu son grand mas coupé a moîtié et celui de misenne rompu, il a eu sa chambre percée et sa galerie brisée, il a esté en plusieurs endroits percé a l'eau, et il a esté contraint de se retirer precipitemment auec les 3 gros Vaisseaux qui n'estoient pas moins jncommodés que luy pour se

bats that were fought. On the 21st, they abandoned their camp, and regained their Ships under cover of night. From the 18th to the 20th, they cannonaded Quebec terribly, both the upper and lower Towns; they discharged 1,500 cannon-shots, which caused 15 or 20 escus worth of damage in Quebec, and killed a child between the great Church and our college, but did no other harm. On the 23rd, they retired from before Quebec, and attempted to make a descent upon the isle of orleans, but without success. On the 25th, being by that time 5 or 6 leagues from Quebec, they restored our french people — not only those whom they had seized in our barks upon the river, but others, whom they had brought from port roial to Baston, and whom they had afterward taken from the prison of Baston, to place them upon the fleet and to make use of them in the expedition against Quebec. Upon restoring our prisoners, they received theirs, after which they resumed their way to Baston. They said that they would return in the spring; and we told them that we would have the honor of seeing them before that time.

That was all the English accomplished at Quebec. Now see what was done to them. 1. Nearly 100 of their men were killed; and, besides, a very great number of Them were wounded when they were making their raid, and afterward when they were encamped on land. 2. Our Cannon, which carried balls of 18 [livres], greatly damaged their 4 large Ships which attacked Quebec. The Admiral's ship lost its flag, at the outset, and had its mainmast cut in two, the mizzenmast broken, its cabin pierced, and its stern-gallery shattered. It sprang several leaks, and was constrained to withdraw precipitately

mettre hors la portée de notre canon qui les alloit tous 4 couler bas sils eussent encore attendu une de ses descharges. 4°. on a forcé les ennemis de nous laisser un cable et une ancre de mille escus (c'est le gros cable et la grosse ancre de L'Amiral) de plus 3. Chaloupes, les cinq Pieces de canon de la descente monté Sur leurs affus, quantité de boulets, un estendart, un tambour, et quelques douzaines de gros mousquets.

Les francois qui estoient prisonniers dans les Vaiss[x]. Anglois ont dit que notre canon auoit tué un fort grand nombre de nos Ennemis et dessus et entre les ponts, et qu'outre cela il y En auoit encore quantité destropiés. Jls ont aiouté que le general de cette flotte, qui s'en estoit raporté a ce que nos prisonniers de Baston luy auoient dit des forces de Quebec, sestoit plaint a eux de ce qu'on l'auoit trompé et de ce que les boulets de Quebec estoient trop gros; qu'il auoit mesme temoigné qu'il en vouloit emporter un a Baston pour se disculper. Ceux de nos francois qui auoient esté tirés de la prison de Baston pour estre mis sur la flotte Angloise et que le general consultoit souuent dans la route sur plusieurs choses concernantes l'execution de son entreprise ont raporté que l'on auoit cru a Baston la prise de Quebec si seure qu'auant que de se mettre en chemin pour cela les officiers de la flotte et autres interessés auoient fait vuider dans les formes plus de vingt procés au suiet du riche butin qui seroit fait a Quebec et nommement pour decider a qui appartiendroient les six Chandeliers d'argent de l'Eglise des Jesuites ces mesmes francois ont assuré que le dessein de ces heretiques Estoit de chasser du Canada

with the 3 large Ships, which were not less injured than it was, in order to get out of range of our cannon — which would have sunk all 4 of them, if they had waited for another of its volleys. 4 [*i.e.*, 3]. We forced the enemy to leave us a cable and an anchor worth a thousand escus (it was the great cable and the heavy anchor of The Admiral) — and, besides, 3 Shallops; the five Pieces of artillery used in their descent, mounted Upon their gun-carriages; a quantity of bullets; a standard, a drum, and several dozen heavy muskets.

The frenchmen who were prisoners in the English Ships said that our cannon had killed a very great number of our Enemies, both above and between the bridges; and that, besides these, a great many were also disabled. They added that the commander of this fleet, who had depended upon what our prisoners from Baston had told him about the forces at Quebec, had complained to them that he had been deceived, and that the bullets of Quebec were too heavy — adding that he had even declared that he would take one of them to Baston, to exculpate himself. Those of our french who had been taken from the prison of Baston to be placed upon the English fleet, and whom the general frequently consulted upon the way about various matters relating to the execution of his enterprise, reported that at Baston the capture of Quebec was believed to be certain. So sure were they that, before setting out on the expedition, the officers of the fleet and others interested had had more than twenty lawsuits settled in regular form on the subject of the rich booty that would be obtained at Quebec, and especially to decide to whom should belong the six silver Chandeliers of

les Ecclesiastiques et les Religieuses, d'ammener celles cy a Baston et de renvoier ceux la en france; car pour les Jesuites, on leur deuoit a tous couper les oreilles pour en faire des chapelets aux bandolières des soldats, et puis leur casser la teste.

Depuis que les Anglois ont paru devant Quebec jusqu'à leur depart La banniere de N. D. a touiours été exposéé en haut du clocher de la grand'Eglise. c'est sous ce saint drapeau que nos pauures habitants ont combatu et Vaincu. Et en memoire d'une protection de Dieu si visible et si extraord^re^. obtenüe par lintercession de N. D. on donnera le nom de N. D. de la Victoire a une Eglise qui est commencéé depuis quelques annéés et qu'on acheuera de bastir au milieu de la basse Ville, outre cela tous les ans on fera une grande feste auec procession Solemnelle le 4 dimanche d'octobre.

A mesme temps que les Anglois attaquoint Quebec par la riuiere, une armée de 2000 sauuages nommés Loups et de 4000 Anglois devoit venir par les terres fondre sur Monreal. La diuision s'y est mise au moment quil falloit marcher. La maladie qui estoit parmi les Anglois s'estant communiqueé aux Loups et quelques uns en estants morts, Les Loups ont en prise auec les Anglois, et mesme ils les ont pillés. Apres quoi chacun sest retiré en son particulier. Voila au jugement de tout le pais un second coup de la main de notre bon Dieu pour renuerser les desseins de nos ennemis sur le pauure Canada.

Les Viuants et les Trepassés ont profité de lentreprise des Anglois. Jl s'est fait des Conuersions a Quebec et de la bonne maniere qui apparemment ne s'y seroient pas faittes encore si tost: et tant de

the Jesuit Church. These same frenchmen have asserted that the intention of these heretics Was to drive from Canada the Ecclesiastics and the Nuns, to take the latter to Baston, and to send the former back to france; but, as for the Jesuits, they were to cut off the ears of all these, to make chaplets for the bandoleers of the soldiers, and then break their heads.

From the time when the English appeared before Quebec until their departure, The banner of Our Lady was continually displayed from the top of the steeple of the great Church; it was under this sacred flag that our poor habitants fought and Conquered. And, in memory of the so evident and extraordinary protection of God obtained through the intercession of Our Lady, the name of Notre Dame de la Victoire will be given to a Church which was begun some years ago, and which is to be completed, in the middle of the lower Town. Besides this, a great festival will be held every year, with a Solemn procession, on the 4th sunday of october.

At the same time when the English attacked Quebec by way of the river, an army of 2,000 savages named Loups, and of 4,000 English, were to come by land to fall upon Monreal. Dissension arose among them, at the time when they were to begin the march. A malady which was prevalent among the English having communicated itself to the Loups, and some of them having died, The Loups laid the blame upon the English, and even plundered them. After that, each army withdrew to its own quarter. Therein is seen, in the opinion of the whole country, a second blow from the hand of our good God to overthrow the designs of our enemies upon poor Canada.

miracles que notre bon Dieu a faits en faueur de son pauure peuple (car c'est ainsi que lon en parle communement icy) ont admirablem[t]. rallumé partout la ferueur envers la tres benite Vierge Sous la protection de qui on a combattu et vaincu; et c'est auec une extreme consolation que nous voions venir icy de toutes parts en pelerinage dans nôtre petite chapelle de N. D. Lorette nos pauures habitans, les uns pour accomplir des vœux faits en son honneur, les autres pour renouueller la protestation d'estre a son seruice toute leur vie, et les uns et les autres pour la suplier de solliciter aupres de N. S. leur entiere conuersion. Pour ce qui est des trepassés on a fait dire partout quantité de messes et a Quebec et a Monreal pour les Ames du purgatoire dans la pensée que celles qu'on en feroit sortir viendroient a nôtre secours dans nos besoins, ainsi quil est quelquefois arriué dans d'autres pais en pareille occasion. C'est Le p. Chaumonnot, un de nos plus anciens missionnaires, qui a donné ouuerture a cette œuure de pieté; elle a esté extremem[t]. bien receüe de tout le monde. Monseig[r]. ñre Euesque l'a authorisée de son approbation et de ses exhortations, et nos feruents Ecclesiastiq; ont fait merueille.

Pendant le siege de Quebec nos P. P. et f. f. se sont partagés par la haute et basse ville dans les corps de garde et dans les autres sentinelles pour la consolation de nos Combatans; Le R. P. Superieur est resté au College auec quelques uns de N. N. p. p. et f. f. les plus aagés: ils estoient resolus d'attendre la nos Ennemis, et quand Jls seroient arriués, d'aller dans l'Eglise et y receuoir le coup de la mort au pied du grand Autel.

Both the Living and the Dead have profited by the expedition of the English. It made some Conversions in Quebec, and in a happy manner, which evidently would not have been made there so soon; and the many miracles that our good God has wrought in favor of his poor people (for it is thus that they are commonly mentioned here) have wonderfully rekindled, everywhere, fervor toward the most blessed Virgin, Under whose protection we have fought and conquered. It is with extreme consolation that we see coming here, from all parts, our poor habitans upon a pilgrimage to our little chapel of Our Lady of Lorette,—some to fulfill vows made in her honor, others to renew their profession of being at her service all their lives, and both to supplicate her to solicit Our Lord for their complete conversion. As for the dead, many masses have everywhere been caused to be said, both at Quebec and at Monreal, for the Souls in purgatory, with the idea that those who should be delivered from that place would come to our help in our need,—as has sometimes happened in other countries, upon similar occasions. It was father Chaumonnot, one of our oldest missionaries, who introduced this work of piety; it was extremely well received by all the people. Monseigneur our Bishop authorized it by his approbation and by his exhortations; and our fervent Ecclesiastics have done wonders.

During the siege of Quebec, our Fathers and brethren distributed themselves in the upper and lower towns, among the guards and the other sentinels, for the consolation of our Combatants. The Reverend Father Superior remained at the College, with some of the oldest among Our fathers and

Pour nous autres missionnaires de Lorette qui n'estions pas exposés de si pres au peril, nous en auons esté quittes pour coucher 2 nuicts dans les bois auec nos sauuages hurons. Le jour que les Anglois firent leur descente, nos guerriers hurons etoient auec les habitans de beauport et de beaupré pour receuoir les ennemis quand ils mettroient pied a terre. Ces habitans qui n'estoient que 200 firent dabord auec nos sauuages trois vigoureuses décharges de mousqueterie a portéé sur les Anglois: apres quoi celui qui cõmandoit nos gens voiant que le nombre excessif des Ennemis alloit nous accabler commanda a son monde de reculer et de se battre a la sauuage. Alors 2 de nos hurons prirent l'epouuante et vinrent a toutes jambes nous dire que tout estoit perdu et que tous les francois estoient morts; quils auoient vu parmi les Anglois 200 Loups (cestoient des Anglois déguisés en sauuages) et que ces Loups alloient infailliblement desoler tout auec la hache et le feu. Cette nouuelle nous fut apportee sur les 10 heures du soir. A l'instant tous nos hurons commencent a plier bagage et disent que pour eux ils s'en vont dans les bois. nous ne pumes les arrester jusqu'au matin et nous prîmes le parti de les suiure dans les bois a un quart de lieüe de nostre Village, emportant auec nous ce qui estoit de plus sacré dans ñre petite chapelle. il nous ressouuint alors de la fuite de N. S. en Egypte. 2 jours apres nos autres guerriers hurons qui auoient esté plus fermes vinrent nous trouuer et nous rasseurerent un peu, Ensuite de quoi nous reuimes tous ensemble au Village. On Vient d'apprendre que l'Amiral de la flotte Angloise est coulé bas dans la riuiere, ne pouuant plus tenir contre

brethren; they were resolved to await our Enemies there, and, when They should arrive, to go into the Church, and there receive the death-blow at the foot of the great Altar.

As for us others, the missionaries of Lorette, who were not so nearly exposed to the danger, we had left the place, to sleep 2 nights in the woods with our huron savages. The day when the English made their descent, our huron warriors were with the habitans of beauport and beaupré, to receive the enemy when they should set foot on land. These habitans, who numbered only 200, at first fired with our savages three vigorous volleys of musketry upon the English,—after which, he who commanded our people, seeing that the excessive number of the Enemy was about to overwhelm us, ordered his people to fall back and to fight in the savage manner. Then 2 of our hurons took fright and came at full speed to tell us that all was lost, and that all the french were dead; that they had seen among the English 200 Loups (they were Englishmen, disguised as savages); and that these Loups would infallibly proceed to desolate everything with hatchet and fire. This news was brought to us about 10 o'clock in the evening. Upon the instant, all our hurons began to tie up their baggage, and say that, for their part, they were going away into the woods. We could not detain them until morning, and we decided to follow them into the woods to a quarter of a league from our Village, carrying with us what was most sacred in our little chapel. We then recalled to mind the flight of Our Lord into Egypt. Our other huron warriors, who had been more steadfast, came, 2 days later, to find and to reassure us somewhat,—After

les ouuertures que le canon de Quebec luy auoit faittes.

La flotte des ennemis n'êtoit encore qu'a 6. ou 7. lieües de Quebec, quand on a apris que nos Vaiss^{x}. marchands estoient dans la riuiere. l'on a enuoié au deuant d'eux quelques Canots le long des terres pour les auertir. Le Glorieux, Le S^{t}. Xauier, et une fregate sont entrés dans la riuiere du saguenai a 25 ou 30 lieües de Quebec du costé du Nord, pour attendre que les Anglois fussent passés. On dit que nos 3 Vaisseaux sortant du saguenai se sont trouués a l'emboucheure de cette riuiere a mesme temps que les Anglois acheuoient de passer: et on admire comment ils n'ont pas esté pris par les Ennemis. On attribue ce coup a S^{te}. Anne et a S^{t}. francois Xauier a qui l'on sestoit addressé par un vœu expres pour l'heureuse arriuée de nos nauires.

Vous voies, mon cher pere, que voicy un pais miraculeux. et comment n'y trouueroit on pas Dieu qui s'y fait sentir en tant de manieres si extraordinaires? Demandés luy un peu pour moy, sil vous plaist que je puisse auoir quelque part aux faueurs quil repand sans cesse sur une infinité de Saints missionaires et de SS. Ecclesiastiques qui sont icy, pour que je puisse auec eux croistre de jour en jour en sa connoissance et en son S^{t}. Amour.

Je suis auec bien du respect et de tout mon cœur

Mon R^{d}. pere

Vostre tres humble et tres

obeissant seruiteur en N. S.

MICHEL GERMAIN DECOUUERT

de la Comp^{ie}. de Jesus.

which we returned, all together, to the Village. We have Just learned that the Admiral's ship of the English fleet ran aground in the river, not being able to hold out longer against the apertures that the cannon of Quebec had made in it.

The fleet of the enemy was still only 6 or 7 leagues from Quebec, when it was learned that our merchant Ships were in the river. Some canoes were sent along the shore to meet and warn them. The *Glorieux*, The *St. Xavier*, and a frigate entered the saguenai river at 25 or 30 leagues from Quebec on the North shore, to wait until the English had passed. It is said that our 3 Ships, going out from the saguenai, found themselves at the mouth of this river at the same time that the English were nearly past it; and we wonder that they were not captured by the Enemy. This event is attributed to St. Anne and to St. francis Xavier, to whom a vow had been addressed expressly for the safe arrival of our ships.

You see, my dear father, that here is a miraculous country; and how could one therein not find God, who makes himself felt in so many and so extraordinary ways? Pray to him a little for me, if you please, that I may have some part in the favors that he bestows, without ceasing, upon a great number of Holy missionaries and of Saintly Ecclesiastics who are here, that I may with them increase from day to day in his knowledge and in his Holy Love.

I am with great respect and with all my heart,

My Reverend father,

Your very humble and very
obedient servant in Our Lord,

MICHEL GERMAIN DECOUVERT,[5]
of the Society of Jesus.

CLXI—CLXIII

Documents of 1691-92

CLXI.—Lettre écrite à Mr. le Comte de Frontenac. Jacques Bruyas; au Sault près Montréal, 5 Avril, 1691

CLXII.—Lettre a Quelques Missionnaires du Canada. Pierre Millet; Onneiȣt, 6 Juillet, 1691

CLXIII.—Memoire Pour les Iroquois Chrestiens du saut en Canada. Fevrier, 1692

SOURCES: Doc. CLXI. is from an apograph preserved in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal. Doc. CLXII. is from a MS. (probably a contemporary copy) in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; the translation is by John Gilmary Shea, and is reprinted, with a few emendations, from the *U. S. Catholic Historical Magazine*, vol. ii. Doc. CLXIII. is from an apograph in the Dominion Archives, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa.

Lettre écrite par le Révérend Père Bruyas de la compagnie de Jésus, à Mr. le Comte de Frontenac Gouverneur et Lieutenant Général pour le Roi en Canada.

Au *Sault près Montréal*,
le 5 Avril 1691.

MONSEIGNEUR,

Vous aurez déjà appris qu'un parti de cent quarante agniés et Flamands ayant fait prisonniers dix ou douze des sauvages du Sault ils leur ont donné la liberté et ont député trois de leurs chefs pour savoir s'ils seraient les biens venus auprès de leur père Onnontio a qui ils souhaitaient de demander la paix qu'ils espéraient obtenir et de garder inviolablement avec lui pour marquer le désir ardent qu'ils ont de finir la guerre ils se sont hâter d'arriver en Canada pour nous faire savoir qu'une armée de huit cents Iroquois devaient bientôt fondre sur nos terres, et enlever s'ils le peuvent tous ce qui est entre les trois Rivières et Montréal, car trois députés etant entrés dans ce fort sans armes et en amis, y ont été bien reçus de nos sauvages qui ont eu bien de la joie de les voir en de si bonnes dispositions. Ils leur ont fait quatre ou cinq petits présents pour savoir d'eux leur véritable dessein. *Par le premier collier* ils les ont remerciés de ce qu ils ont envoyé les prisonniers qu'ils avaient faits, et ont épargné ceux qu'ils eussent pû faire s'ils eussent

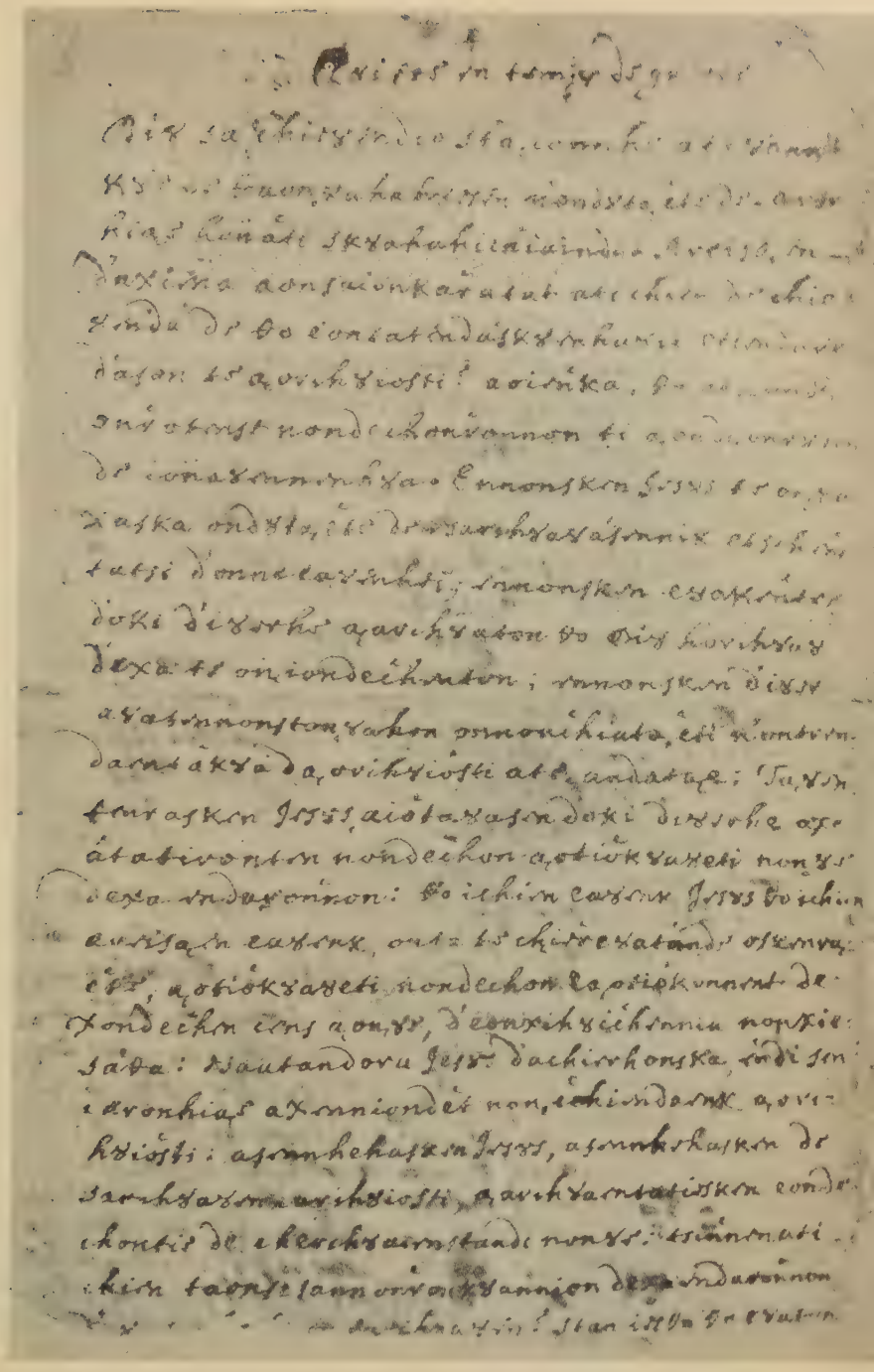
Letter written by Reverend Father Bruyas, of the society of Jesus, to Monsieur the Count de Frontenac, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King in Canada.

At the *Sault near Montréal*,
April 5, 1691.

MONSEIGNEUR,

You will have already learned that a party of one hundred and forty agniés and Flemings, who captured ten or twelve savages of the Sault, gave them their liberty, and deputed three of their own chiefs to ascertain whether they would be welcome to their father Onnontio, whom they wished to sue for peace,— which they hoped to obtain, and to preserve inviolably with him, in order to prove their ardent desire to put an end to the war. They hastened to arrive in Canada, to inform us that an army of eight hundred Iroquois would soon swoop down upon our lands, and carry off, if they could, all the people between three Rivers and Montréal. When the three deputies entered the fort, without arms and as friends, they were well received by our savages, who were greatly rejoiced at seeing them so well inclined. They gave the deputies four or five small presents, in order to ascertain from them what their true intentions were. *By the first collar* they thanked them for having sent back the prisoners whom they had taken, and for having spared

voulu tous nos sauvages étant de côté et d'autre, et exposés à être enlevés par les premiers qui les découvriraient. Ils les ont aussi remerciés de l'avis qu'ils leur ont donné du gros parti d'Iroquois qui descend. *Le deuxième* présent a été pour dire aux Agniés que leur père Onnontio, sera bien aise d'apprendre la résolution qu'ils ont de vivre sous son obéissance comme doivent faire de véritables enfants, Mais qu'ils parlent tous de bon, et non pas comme sont les Onnontagués qui . . . frappé en même tems qu'ils en était caressé. *Par le troisième* collier, ils ont démandé aux Agniés qu'ils leur fissent savoir en quel tems environ on les renverrait au Montréal où ils trouveront leur Père qui doit y monter cet été. Le quatrième présent fut pour leur faire ressouvenir que les chrétiens de la Montagne, Lorette et Sillery sont aussi les enfants d'Onnontio, et les frères des sauvages du Sault, et parlent qu ils prennent les mêmes pensées à leur égard. Le dernier présent a été pour les exhorter a faire cesser tous actes d'hostilité, tant sur les francais que sur les sauvages enfants d'Onnontio. Ils leur ont recommandé d'avertir les loups leurs alliés de cette suspension d'armes afin qu'ils ne brouillent pas les affaires. Ils ont fini leur harangue en leur donnant deux Flamands pour qu'ils ramenent *M^r^. le Chevalier d'Eau* et tous les français qui sont à Orange. L'Agniés à répondu que c'est tout de bon qu'il veut la paix, ce sont les guerriers qui la demande et l'ont conclue de leur côté, non par les Anciens qu'ils n'ont pas voulu consulter parce qu'ils ne sont pas toujours bien sincères, outre que tous ceux qui avaient de l'esprit aux Agniers sont morts. *Il a rendu le* Collier par lequel



FACSIMILE OF HANDWRITING OF P. J. M. CHAUMONOT, S.J.

["Prière en temps de guerre," in archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal. Probable date, 1683.]

those whom they could have taken had they wished,— as all our savages were scattered here and there, and in danger of being carried away by the first who might discover them. They also thanked the deputies for the warning given them of the large body of Iroquois who were coming down. *The second* present was to tell the Agniés that their father Onnontio will be greatly pleased to learn their resolution to live under his authority, as true children should do; But that they must really mean what they say, and not do like the Onnontagués, who struck while they were being caressed by him. *By the third* collar they asked the Agniés to let them know about what time they would be sent back to Montréal,— where they will meet their Father, who is to come up this summer. The fourth present was to remind them that the christians of la Montagne, of Lorette, and of Sillery are also children of Onnontio, and brothers of the savages at the Sault, and say that they have the same thoughts regarding them. The last present was for the purpose of exhorting them to suspend all hostile acts, both against the french and against the savages who are children of Onnontio. They requested the Agniés to inform the loups, their allies, of this suspension of hostilities, so that they might not embroil matters. They concluded by haranguing them, and handing over to them two Flemings, in order that they might bring back *Monsieur the Chevalier d'Eau* and all the french who are at Orange.[6] The Agnié replied that he is earnest in his desire for peace; that the warriors ask for it, and have concluded it on their own account, and not through the Elders — whom they would not consult, because they are not always very sincere; moreover, all those

on le remerciait des prisonniers qu'il a renvoyés, en disant que c'est une reconnoissance de la bonté que feu M^r^. de S^t^. Heleine eut pour eux à la journée de Corlard, n'ayant pas voulu se servir de l'avantage que sa bonne fortune lui avait donnée sur eux dont il aurait fait, plus de trente captifs. Il a assuré qu'il se promet de faire agréer à Corlard et aux autres nations Iroquoises, le dessein qu il a de vivre en paix avec nous, et s'ils ne veulent pas l'initer, il les laissera battre et les regardera en fumant paisiblement sur sa natte.

Comme cette affaire est de la dernière consequence, il lui faudra bien du temps pour disposer toutes choses. C'est pourquoi il laisse deux de ses gens au Sault pour y attendre les volontés de leur père, Ils partiront incontinent après les avoir suer par M^r^. de Callières à qui il aura la bonté de les signifier et lui les fera savoir aux Agniés par le moyen de ces deux députés.

Les Flamands qui sont une vingtaine avec les Agniés ont été bien aises de revoir leurs compatriotes.

Ils ont fait dire que Corlard ou celui qui tient sa place, enverra infailliblement les français qu'on demande.

Les Agniers ont promis de s'en retourner incessamment et de faire rebrousser chemin à tous les partis qu'ils rencontreront. Ils ont exhorté nos sauvages à se tenir sur leurs gardes et à ne pas s'éloigner de leur fort, de peur d'étre attrapés par quelque Loup ou Iroquois.

Les deux susd. députés doivent même aller au

among the Agniers who had sense are dead. *He gave back the* Collar by which he was thanked for the prisoners he had restored, saying that this was done out of gratitude for the kindness shown them by the late Monsieur de Ste. Heleine on the day of Corlard, when he refused to benefit by the advantage that his good fortune had given him over them, and which would have enabled him to take over thirty prisoners.[7] He asserted that he would promise to make Corlard, and the other Iroquois nations, concur in his design to live in peace with us; and says that, if they will not imitate him, he will leave them to be beaten, and will watch their defeat while smoking quietly on his mat.

As this matter is of the utmost importance, it will take him much time properly to arrange matters. Wherefore he leaves two of his people at the Sault, to await the orders of their father. They will start at once, on learning them from Monsieur de Callières, to whom Onnontio will have the goodness to communicate them; and the latter will make them known to the Agniés through these two deputies.

The Flemings, about twenty of whom are with the Agniés, were greatly pleased to see their countrymen once more.

They sent us word that Corlard, or the person who takes his place, will send back without fail the french for whom we ask.

The Agniers promised to return at once, and to make all the bands that they might meet retrace their steps. They exhorted our savages to be on their guard, and not to stray from their fort, lest they might be caught by some Loup or Iroquois.

The two aforesaid deputies will also go to meet the

deuant de cette grande armée pour lui apprendre ce qui s'est passé entre eux et nous.

Voilà Monseigneur, le précis, de ce qui s'est dit de part et d'autre. S'il m'est permis de dire mon sentiment sur ce que j'ai vu et entendu, je crois qu'ils parlent sincèrement et que les choses s'acheminent a faire une paix solide avec cette nation, et par leur moyen, avec toutes les autres.

La maladie, la cherté des hardes, et la perte de quantité de braves, les ont dégoutés d'une guerre qu'ils n'ont prise que par force et pour repousser les violences qu'on leur a faites. C'est aussi le sentiment des plus raisonnables qui soient au Sault. Ils ne doutent pas cette fois de la sincérité, des Agniés d'autant plus qu'ils envoyent une vingtaine qui ont quitté le camp pour se rendre à nous et risquer avec nos Sauvages, s'ils n'eussent levé le picquet, je crois que le tiers de cette petite armée se fut dissipé pour venir s'habituer au Sault. Ce changement surprend avec sujet tout le monde. Pour moi, comme je ne veux pas être leur caution ni répondre de leur persévérance, aussi ai-je de la peine à entrer dans le sentiment de ceux qui parlent mal de ces déserteurs.

Nos pauvres sauvages en sont tout à fait consolés et regardent ce coup comme un miracle, si Dieu nous donne par votre moyen ce que les Agniés vous demandent et ce que tout le monde souhaite avec tant d'ardeur, Je ne doute point que nous n'ayons ici les deux tiers des Agniés, C'est ce que je demande tous les jours à Notre Seigneur, et qu'il vous inspire tout ce qu'il jugera de voir contribuer à augmenter sa gloire et agrandir la colonie.

great army that is coming, to inform them of what has passed between them and us.

Such, Monseigneur, is a summary of what was said on both sides. If I may be permitted to express my opinion upon what I have seen and heard, I think that they speak sincerely; and that matters tend to a firm peace with that nation, and through them with the others.

Disease, the heavy cost of clothing, and the loss of a number of braves, have disgusted them with a war upon which they entered solely because they were compelled to do so, and in order to repel the violence that was done to them. This is also the opinion of the most reasonable men at the Sault. This time they have no doubt of the sincerity of the Agniés,—all the more so that they see about twenty of them who left the camp to surrender to us, and to risk themselves among our Savages. Had they not struck camp, I believe that one-third of that little army would have disbanded, and have come to dwell at the Sault. Such a change astonishes every one, and with reason. For my part, although I do not wish to be their surety or to answer for their perseverance, I also find some difficulty in concurring in the opinion of those who speak ill of these deserters.

Our poor savages are quite consoled at it, and consider this a kind of miracle. If God give us through you that which the Agniés ask of you, and which every one so ardently desires, I have no doubt that we shall have two-thirds of the Agniés here. That is what I ask of Our Lord every day, and also that he may inspire in you whatever he may deem advisable to contribute to the increase of his glory and the development of the colony.

Ce sont les vœux que lui fait celui qui est avec tout le respect possible,

Monseigneur,

Votre très humble et
très obéissant serviteur
J. Bruyas
de la Compagnie de Jésus

Such are the prayers offered to him by one who remains with all possible respect,

Monseigneur,

Your very humble and
very obedient servant,
JACQUES BRUYAS,
of the Society of Jesus.

Lettre du Pere Millet a Quelques Missionnaires du Canada.

A Onneiȣt Jour de L'Octaue
de st. Pierre et de st. Paul 1691

Mes Reuerends Peres

Vous serez Ie m'asseure bien aises dapprendre la maniere dont les Iroquois et surtout les Onneiȣts mont conserué La vie depuis que je fus pris au fort de Frontenac jusqu'a present, vous aurez Ie Crois de la Consolation & les Gens de bien en beniront Dieu.

Ie ne vous diray quun mot de la maniere que Je fus pris auec le Chirurgien St. Amand que I auois mené auec moy a l Instances des Onnontagues, pour seigner disoient ils quelques uns de leurs guerriers, pour nous mieux tromper Ils nous auoient fait entendre que leurs gens estoient allez a Montreal pour y faire des propositions de paix, Le Chirurgien fut pris a la Cabane des malades quil alloit penser et moy a celle des anciens et des Capitaines, qui y estoient assemblez pour diuerses affaires sur lesquelles Ils me vouloient disoient ils consulter. Et pour faire prier Dieu un pretendu moribond, mais effectivement pour me faire prisonnier. L'on me demanda si les officiers & les Soldats ne sortoient point, Ie repondis que non & quon m'envoyoit pour Sçauoir ce quils souhaittoient de moy & des autres Vous payerez donc pour tous me dit on & aussitost

Letter of Father Millet to Some Missionaries in Canada.

ONNEIOUT, Octave of
st. Peter and Paul, 1691.

REVEREND FATHERS,

You will be, I am sure, very glad to learn the way in which the Iroquois, and especially the Onneiouts, have preserved my life from my capture at fort Frontenac to this time.[8] It will, I Believe, Console you, and good People will bless God.

I will say but a word of the manner in which I was captured with Surgeon St. Amand, whom I took with me at the Request of the Onnontagues, in order to bleed some of their warriors, as they said, the better to deceive us. They had given us to understand that their people had gone to Montreal to make proposals for peace. The Surgeon was taken to the Cabin of the patients whom he was to attend, and I to that of the sachems and Chiefs, who were assembled there to discuss various subjects,—on which They said they wished to consult me, And have me pray for a pretended dying man, but really to make me a prisoner. I was asked whether the officers and Soldiers did not go out. I answered No, and that I was sent to Learn what they desired of me and the others. "You must pay then for all," they told me; and at once two of the strongest Fellows, who had been selected to arrest me, Sprang on me, seized me by the arms, and took

deux Estaffiers des plus forts qui auoient esté choisis pour marrester se Ietterent sur moy, me saisirent par le bras et mosterent mon breuiaire et tout le reste que Iauois sur moy, chacun me faisoit diuers reproches d'auoir tous jours esté fort contraire aux Iroquois mais le Capitaine Manchot dOnneiȣt me dit que je ne craignisse rien, & que Les Chretiens dOnneiȣt que Iauois baptisé me conserueroient la vie Iauois besoin de cet appuy, parceque les Anglois dit on auoient fait mon procez et mauoient desja fait brusler en Effigie. le susdit Capitaine me recõmanda aux guerriers qui me menoient de ne me pas laisser depouiller & de me mener auec mes habits Iusqua leur nation; mais si tot quil m'eut quitté pour se Ioindre a 300 Iroquois de toutes les nations qui sortirent de leur embuscade pour tascher de mauoir des compagnons de fortune & de surprendre le fort sils lauoient pu lon me demanda et tira en meme tems ma Ceinture, l'autre prit mon Chappeau un 3e. mosta la soutane, un 4e. la Chemise Enfin d'autres me tirerent mes bas & mosterent mes souliers. Ils ne me laisserent que le Calçon qui fut mesme demandé par des considerables qui disoient quils lauoient songé Mais mes conducteurs sopposerent a ses obseruateurs de mauuais songes & marracherent des mains de Ceux qui me vouloient m'assacrer sur lheure & qui estant Irritez du mauuais traittement quils disoient auoir receu des francois par mon moyen, mauoient Ietté dans l'Eau & foulé aux piedz. L Entreprise des Iroquois sur le fort de frontenac nayant pas reussy, a cause quon manqua de prendre un françois qui sy refugia et qui auertit quils estoient embusquez. lon me detacha dun arbriseau ou lon

away my breviary and everything else I had about me. Every one addressed reproaches of one kind or another for having always been very much opposed to the Iroquois; but Chief Manchot of Onneiout told me to fear nothing, that The Christians of Onneiout whom I had baptized would preserve my life. I needed this support, because the English, it is said, had tried me and already burnt me in Effigy. The said Chief commended me to the warriors who were carrying me off, not to let me be stripped and take me in my clothes To their tribe; but as soon as he left me, to Join 300 Iroquois of all tribes,— who were leaving their ambuscade to endeavor to give me some companions in misfortune, and to surprise the fort, if they could,— I was demanded, and at the same time my Girdle was taken off, another took my Hat, a 3rd took away my soutane, and a 4th my Shirt. In fine, others pulled off my stockings, and took away my shoes. They left me only my Breeches, and even they were demanded by some men of importance, who said that they had dreamed; But my guard opposed these observers of bad dreams, and rescued me from the hands of Those who wished to massacre me on the spot, and who, Incensed at the ill treatment they professed to have received from the french through my influence, had Thrown me into the Water, and trampled me under foot. The Attempt of the Iroquois on fort frontenac having failed, because they did not succeed in capturing a frenchman who contrived to get in and warn them of the ambuscade, I was untied from a sapling to which I had been bound, to await them on the banks of the lake; and I was put barehead into a Canoe to take me, in Company with 3 or 400 Iroquois, to

mauoit lié pour les attendre sur le bord du lac & Lon me mit teste nue dans un Canot pour me mener en Compagnie de 3 ou 400 Iroquois a deux lieües plus bas que le fort de Frontenac, dans une Isle ou lon attendoit le gros de larmée Irroquoise de 1400 hõmes

Ce fut la que Ie fus receu auec de grandes huées des Iroquois Superieurs qui bordoient toute la coste pour me voir Lié & amenè come en triomphe quelques uns se mirent a l'Eau pour me receuoir a la dessente du Cannot ou ils me firent chanter a leur mode, Ie Chantay donc une Chanson que Je fis sur le Champ et quils repetent et me font repeter quelq^{s} fois par diuertissement

Ongienda Kehasakchoüa Jay Este pris de mes Enfans

Ongienda Kehasakchoüa Jay Este pris de mes Enfans

Pour remerciment de ma chanson un honnontouan me donna un Coup de poing proche de l'œil ou il me laissa la marque de ses ongles en sorte que lon doutoit si cestoit un coup de couteau lon me mene de ce pas dans les Cabanes des Onneiõts ou lon ne permit pas que lon me fit aucune insulte ni mesme quon me fit davantage chanter a l'Iroquoise. quelques particuliers seulement menvoyerent querir et me faisoient prier Dieu et chanter des Cantiques de L Eglise soit seul soit auec les autres francois captifs quon y amenoit quelque fois et qui chantois auec moy le Veny Creator Spiritus &c

Sur le Soir nous dessendismes Jusquà huict lieues du fort, ou lon passa deux Iours Ce fut la ou une femme de honnontouan que Ie ne connoissois pas, me rendit un seruice considerable en me donnant une

an Island two leagues below fort Frontenac, where they awaited the main body of the Irroquois army of 1,400 men.

It was there that I was received with great shouts by the Upper Iroquois, who lined the whole shore to see me Bound and brought as it were, in triumph. Some rushed into the Water to receive me as the Canoe neared the shore, where they made me sing a song, in their fashion, as I did on the Spot, and which they repeated and made me repeat several times for sport:

Ongienda Kehasakchoua — I have Been taken by my Children.

Ongienda Kehasakchoua —I have Been taken by my Children.

To thank me for my song, a honnontouan Struck me with his fist near my eye, leaving the mark of his nails, so that one would have thought it a stroke of a knife. After this I was taken to the Cabins of the Onneiouts, where they did not permit any other insult to be offered me, nor even let them compel me to sing again in the Iroquois style. Some individuals even sent for me and made me pray to God, and sing Hymns of The Church,— either alone or with other french prisoners, who were sometimes brought there, and who sang with me the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, etc.

Toward Evening, we dropped down eight leagues below the fort, and spent two Days there. It was at this place that a woman of honnontouan, whom I did not know, rendered me an important service, by giving me a Kind of english cap, because I was bare-headed and often exposed to the rays of the sun, which had Affected me greatly. This woman afterward, passing by This place, made herself known to

Espece de bonnet a langloise, parceque jestois teste nüe & souvent exposé aux rayons du soleil qui mauoient desja fort Incõmodé, cette fẽme cest depuis fait connoitre a moy en passant par Icy Cest la mere dAndotiennons chrestien de la montagne Dieu la veille recompenser de la Charite quelle me fit fort a propos et de bonne grace.

De la Larmée se repandit Iusq'a Otonniata ou Elle sejourna 3 Iours Elle y tint Conseil de guerre Ie fus bien pres de passer le pas & destre Immolé come une victime publique, 3 francois etoient captifs auec moy deux que M^r^. de Valrenne auoit donnez pour aller auec Onnonaragon porter a Montreal la premiere nouvelle de la dessente des Iroquois, et qui estoient tombez dans lambuscade quon leur auoit dressé a deux lieues du fort & le Chirurgien qui fut pris auec moy Les Onnontagues qui auoient leué la Chaudiere de guerre a la sollicitation des Anglois nous auoient [*blank space in MS.*] aux quatres nations & Il ne leur restoit personne pour Jetter dans cette Chaudiere de guerre qui devoit animer le courage des guerriers La Resolution fut donc prise de nous remettre a la disposition des Onnontannes afin quils choisissent eux mesme celuy qui leur Seroit plus propres pour leur dessein, & probablement le sort seroit tombé sur moy tant parceque de me faire mourir ceust esté une marq. de guerre sans paix telle quils sembloient le vouloir, que parcequon me faisoit generalement passer pour un g[r]and Criminel dEstat Iroquois & anglois, un Capitaine dOnneiõt me vint prendre un Jour sur le midy & me mena lié come Iestois au Conseil de toutes les nations Irroquoises assemblées sur une Colline voisine lon me mit a costé

me. She is the mother of Andotiennons, a christian at la montagne. God reward her for her Charity, which she rendered me so seasonably and with such a good grace.

From that place The army straggled To Otonniata,[9] where It remained 3 Days. There a Council of war was held. I was near passing the line, and being Immolated as a public victim. There were 3 frenchmen prisoners with me,—two whom Monsieur de Valrenne[10] had given to go with Onnonaragon to convey to Montreal the first information of the descent of the Iroquois, and who had fallen into the ambuscade laid for them two leagues from the fort; and the Surgeon who was captured with me. The Onnontagues, who had taken up the war-Kettle at the instigation of the English, had surrendered us to the four nations; and They had no one left to Throw into that war-Kettle which was to rouse the courage of the warriors. The Resolution was accordingly adopted to restore us to the disposition of the Onnontannes, so that they might themselves select the one best suited for their purpose; and the lot would probably have fallen on me, both because putting me to death would have been a signal for war without peace, such as they seemed to desire, and because I was generally held up as a great Iroquois and english State Criminal. One Day at noon an Onneiout Chief came for me, and took me, bound as I was, to the Council of all the Irroquois nations assembled on a neighboring Hill. I was placed beside the surgeon, whom I found in the posture of a prisoner of war as well as myself; the two other Prisoners were not there, because Those who had the disposal of them were

du chirurgien que Ie trouué en posture de prisonner de guerre aussi bien que moy, les deux autres Captifs ne se trouuerent pas, parceque Ceux qui les auoient en leur disposition sestoient dispensez pour la chasse & les auoient menéz auec Eux Cest a mon avis ce qui rompit la partie ou qui me sauua pour cette fois la du danger, nous ne somes pas tous assemblez dit un ancien Goiogoen & apres mauoir consideré quelq^{9} tems Il me dit que Ie priasse Dieu, Je demanday si cestoit pour mourir & on me dit que non & que Ie priasse seulem^{t}. Dieu a mon ordinaire, Et me leué donc & fis la priere en Iroquoise a fin que tout le monde lEntendit Ie noubliay pas de prier en particulier pour tous mes auditeurs. La priere finie on me fit rasseoir a terre, lon me deslia un de mes bras & peu apres on menuoya au Camp des Onneiȣts, a peine y fus-Je rendu que plusieurs considerables dentre Eux me vinrent tesmoigner leur Ioye de ce que Iestois reuenu Ils auoient eu peur pour moy & me dirent quils nestoient pas participans du Conseil tenu pour mettre entre les mains deȣ Onnontagués, que le Capitaine seul qui mauoit mené auoit fait un coup de sa teste, sans leur en parler que cela narriueroit plus & quon me meneroit a Onneiȣts. En Effet des le Lendemain Ils detacherent deux Capitaines auec environ 30 personnes pour m'y Conduire pendant que larmée poursuiuoit sa route vers Montreal.

Dans toutes les Cabanes des Onneiȣts Je fus assez bien traitté pendant le voyage; Ils me preparoient Eux mesmes la natte & sils auoient quelq^{9} chose de bon a manger ils men faisoient part des premiers, mais Ils noublioient pas le soir de me remettre La

scattered hunting, and had taken them Along. This is, in my opinion, what broke up the scheme, or what saved me that time from danger. "We are not all assembled," said a Goiogoen sachem; and, after looking at me for some time, He told me to pray to God. I asked him whether it was to prepare to die; and I was told No, and that I should only pray to God in my ordinary way. I accordingly rose and made a prayer in Iroquois, in order that all might Understand it. I did not forget to pray in particular for all my hearers. When the prayer ended, I was made to sit down on the ground: one of my arms was unbound, and I was soon after sent to the Camp of the Onneiouts. I had scarcely reached it before several of the leading men among Them came to express their Joy that I had returned. They had been alarmed for me, and told me, that they had not taken part in the Council held to put me into the hands of the Onnontagués, that only the Chief who had led me there had done it, of his own impulse, without consulting them; but that this should not occur again, and that I should be conducted to Onneiout. In Fact, the Next day They detached two Chiefs with about 30 men to Conduct me, while the army pursued its march toward Montreal.

On my journey I was pretty well treated in all the Cabins of Onneiout; They Themselves prepared a mat for me, and if they had anything good to eat, they gave me my share among the first; but at night They never forgot to put The Rope around my Neck, feet, and hands, and around the Body—for fear, They said, lest God should Inspire me to escape, and they be deprived of the advantage and glory of

Corde au Col aux pieds & aux mains & par le trauers du Corps de peur disoient Ils que Dieu ne mInspira de me sauuer & quils n'eussent pas l'auantage & la gloire de me ramener jusq' a le^{r}. nation mais Ie nauois pas cette pensée & Iaimois mieux mourir si Dieu le vouloit a Onneiȣt qui estoit le lieu de mon ancienne mission q^{9}. en pas un autre endroit du monde lon ne me chargea de rien durant Le Chemin Sinon que sur la fin du voyage un des deux Capitaines qui me conduisoit me donna son sac qui etoit fort leger a porter a la derniere couchée a dix lieües donneiȣt Je rencontré une Cretienne nõmée Marie qui me donna de la part de son pere & de sa mere un grand Chapelet enfilé de laton, ou il y auoit une belle medaille de la s^{te}. famille. Elle me dit de me le mettre au Col, ce que Je fis heureuse rencontre qui me remplit le Cœur de Consolation & fit quasi perdre Esperance a la Ieunesse qui me menoit de se pouuoir diuertir a me uoir brusler a leur arrivée selon quils ont coutume de faire au premier Captif quils amenent quand Ils sont determinez a la guerre, mais ils la perdirent presquentierem^{t} lorsq. a deux lieües de le^{r}. bourgade nous rencontrasme une autre Crestienne de la premiere noblesse dOnneiȣt qui mattendoit auec sa fille que Jauois autrefois baptisée a mesme jour quelle et auec son mary qui etoit le second Capitaine qui me conduisoit & qui ayant quitté larmée Expres pour me conduire plus seurement auoit pris le deuant deux Jours auparauant pour avertir sa fẽme de mon approche Ils estoient tous la Venus au deuant de moy auec diuers petits refraischissemens du pays dont cette femme Chrestienne me pourueut abondamment & me demanda a

conducting me to the nation. But I had no such thought, and preferred to die if God willed it, at Onneiout, which was the place of my former mission, rather than in any other place in the world. I was not loaded with anything during The March, Except that toward the end of our journey, one of the two Chiefs who had charge of me, gave me his bag, which was very light, to carry. At the last sleeping place, ten leagues from onneiout, I met a Christian woman named Marie, who in the name of her father and mother gave me a large Rosary strung on tin, with a fine medal of the holy family. She told me to put it on my Neck, which I did. Happy meeting! which filled my Heart with Consolation, and almost made the Young braves who conducted me lose Hope of being able to enjoy themselves seeing me burnt at their arrival, as it was the custom to do with the first Prisoner brought in, when They had determined on war. But they lost it almost entirely, when two leagues from the town we met another Christian woman, of the first nobility at Onneiout, who awaited me with her daughter, whom I had formerly baptized the same day as herself; and with her husband, who was the second Chief in whose charge I was,— and who having left the army, on Purpose to conduct me more safely, had gone on two Days ahead to notify his wife of my approach. They had all Come there to meet me, with several little refreshments of that country, with which this Christian woman provided me abundantly; and she asked me to whom of Those who accompanied me I wished to be given. Then she took the Rope off my Neck, and unbound my arms. She gave me a white shirt and a Blanket of fine stuff that belonged to her daughter. Would

qui de Ceux [qui] maccompagnoient Ie voulois quelle en donnast, Ensuitte elle mosta la Corde du Col & me deslia les bras elle me donna une chemise blanche & une Couuerture d'etoffe fine qui appartenoit a sa fille, auroit on cru que parmy des Sauuages Il se seroit trouvé une aussi genereuse amitié & une aussi grande reconnoissance dauoir receu le baptesme que celle la Cestoit la veille de s^{t}. Laurent Et tous le matin Je mestois disposé le moins mal que jauois pu a tout ce qui pourroit arriuer & a souffrir le feu sil Estoit besoin a lImitation de ce grand sainct Mais I'auoüe que Ieus peine a retenir mes larmes voyant la Charité & le Cœur de ces pauures Sauuages Chrestiens. Estant un peu reuenu a moy, Ie demanday si Cestoit pour orner la Victime & si Je deuois mourir a mon arriuée La bonne Crestienne me dit quil ny auoit encore rien dasseuré & que le Conseil donneiȣt en decideroit en son tems

Un Guerrier mauoit desja presté des otonniata un petit Justau Corps tout neuf quon ne me voulut pas oster pour lors & les Chrestiens mayant encore donné de nouuelles hardes lon me fit continuer ma route auec les liurées des deux plus considerables familles donneiȣt de celle de L'ours et de celle de la tortue

L on envoya incontinent avertir les anciens que jestois proche afin quils vinssent aussi au deuant de moy et quils allumassent un feu dattente endeça de la bourgade, ils y vinrent mais Ils nestoient pas tous dans la mesme disposition desprit que Ceux dont Ie viens de parler, un ancien apres mauoir salué a la Sauuage voulut par trois fois me donner un coup de poing dans le visage Mais come Iauois Les bras libres Ie paray trois fois Le Coup quasi sans que Iy fisse

any one have believed that among Savages There would be found such generous friendship, and such deep gratitude for having received baptism, as this? It was the eve of st. Lawrence's day, And all the morning I had been preparing myself, as well as I could, for whatever might befall me, and to endure the fire, if need Be, in Imitation of that great saint; But I confess that I could scarcely restrain my tears on beholding the Charity and Heart of these poor Indian Christians. Having recovered a little, I asked whether It was to adorn the Victim, and whether I was to die on my arrival. The good Christian woman told me that nothing had yet been settled, and the Council of onneiout would decide in its own time.

A Warrior had already lent me, at otonniata, a little Jacket, perfectly new, of which they did not wish to deprive me then; and, the Christians having already given me new clothes, they made me continue my journey with the livery of the two most important families of onneiout, that of The bear and that of the tortoise.[11]

Messengers were at once sent to notify the sachems that I was near, in order that they should also come to meet me, and kindle a fire of awaiting within the town; they came, but They were not all in the same state of mind as Those of whom I have just spoken. One sachem, after saluting me in Indian fashion, three times tried to strike me in the face with his fist; But, as My arms were free, I thrice parried The Blow, almost without reflection. And, when the Indian had desisted, they made me sit down near the sachems, And Chief Manchot, the husband of the good Christian woman, who had chosen to conduct

reflexion & le Sauuage ayant desisté on me fit asseoir aupres des anciens. Et le Capitaine Manchot mary de la bonne Chrestienne qui mauoit voulu conduire Iusq. la, les harangua et leur dit la part des autres Capitaines, qui suiuoient larmée que Ie ne venois pas come Captif mais comme missionnaire qui reuenoit visiter mon troupeau que leur volonté estoit quon me menas dans la Cabane de Conseil & que je fusse a la disposition des agoianders ou gens daffaires du pays & non pas a la disposition de la soldatesq. ny du peuple ainsy quil me remettoit entre leurs mains Et pour luy quil se retiroit

Un Ancien de la famille de l'ours grand amy des Anglois harangua ensuitte fortement disant que Iestois du party du gouuerneur de Canada qui renversoit La Cabane Iroquoise et qui auoit bruslé les bourgs des Tsonnonŧa Il en dit tant que Je craignis que le feu qui estoit la ne fut allumé pour me brusler auant que Ientrasse dans le bourg come Ils font quelq^{9}. fois, mais il adoucit un peu son discours, sur la fin et dit que puisq^{9}. les Capitaines auoient recomandé quon me menast en la Cabane de Conseil qui est une Cabane priuilegiée. Il falloit my conduire on donna cette Comission a un home de la nation q'on appelle Skannehokŧie du pays des Loups & naturaliée chez les Iroquoise

Je passay ce mauuais pas sous la Conduitte de ce protecteur qui eut soin desloigner plusieurs Yurognesse qui me vouloient Insulter & marrester en chemin Je fus Etonné de voir la quantité de monde qui se presentoit de tous costez & lon me fit entrer en cette Compagnie dans la Cabane du Conseil qui estoit deuenue Une Cabane de Guerre par

me Thus far, harangued them and told them, in the name of the other Chiefs who followed the army, that I did not come as a Prisoner, but as a missionary who returned to visit my flock; that it was their will that I should be taken to the Council Cabin and put at the disposal of the agoianders, or people who managed the affairs of the country, and not at the disposition of the soldiery or people, as he now placed me in their hands; And, for himself, he withdrew.

A Sachem of the bear family, a great friend of the English, then made a strong speech, declaring that I belonged to the side of the governor of Canada, who was overthrowing The Iroquois Cabin,[12] and who had completely burned the towns of the Tsonnonwa. He said so much that I feared that the fire which was there was kindled to burn me before I entered the town, as They sometimes do; but his speech at the close grew milder, and he said that, as the Chiefs had recommended that I should be taken to the Council Cabin, which is a privileged Cabin, I must be taken there. This Commission was entrusted to a man of the nation called Skannehokwie, from the country of the Loups, and naturalized among the Iroquois.

I passed that bad country [*sc.* road] under the Guidance of this protector, who carefully kept aloof several Drunkards who wished to Insult me and stop me on the way. I was Astonished to see the number of people who appeared on all sides; and in this Company I was made to enter the Council Cabin, which had become A Cabin of War by the Intrigues of the english and other Enemies of the faith.

It was The Cabin of our good Christian woman,

les Intrigues des anglois et des autres Ennemis de la foy

Cestoit La Cabane de notre bonne Chrestienne car Elle my receut auec bien de laccueil, mais il fallut bientot apres me cacher les yurognes et les yurognesses venant de toutes costez nous assaillir & dire milles Injures a ceux & a celles qui me protegeoient Iettant des pierres contre la Cabanne et menaçant de tout renverser & dy mettre le feu puis que la guerre disoit on est cõmancée, Il ne faut pas nous en ôter les premiers fruits qui nous en viennent, La bonne Chrestienne sa fẽme Gouentagrandi, ma dit quelle auoit souffert quoy quauec peine quon chantast la guerre dans sa Cabane, plutot que dans une autre a fin de me pouuoir plus aisement sauuer la vie ou de la Conseruer au gouuerneur de Canada ou a quelq^{9}. considerables francois silz auoient le malheur destre faits prisonnier & de vray nonseulem^{t}. Elle ma Conserué, mais elle a encore conserué plusieurs francois tant dans sa Cabane que dans les autres, et on peut dire que sil sest fait ou sil sen fait encore quelq^{9}. bien dans cette mission cest a cette bonne femme apres Dieu a qui lon en doit la premiere Louange

Deux autres Iours apres que la furie des yurognes fut passée mes amis uoulurent me faire Iuger mon proces & decider mon sort auant que les choses saigrissent dauantage sil y auoit des Iroquois tuez a monreal ou ils etoient allez a la guerre Je fus conduit au lieu ou les chefs des deux familles de la Tortue & de l'ours etoient assemblez pour decider de mon sort, lun et lautre conclut quil falloit attendre le retour des Guerriers & Scauoir plus particulierement leurs Intentions et celles des

for She received me there with great welcome; but it was soon afterward necessary to conceal me, drunken men and women coming from all sides to assail us and utter a thousand Insults against those who protected me,— Hurling stones against the Cabin, and threatening to overthrow everything and to set it on fire. "Since war," said they, "is begun, we must not be deprived of the first fruits that come to us." The good Christian woman, Gouentagrandi, told me that she suffered great distress, when war was sung in her Cabin, rather than in some other, in order to be able to save my life more easily, or to Preserve that of the governor of Canada or any other frenchman of rank, if they had the misfortune to be taken prisoner. And, in fact, She has not only Preserved me, but she has also preserved several other french, both in her Cabin and in others; and it may be said that, if any good has been done or is now done in this mission, it is to this good woman after God that the first Praise is due.

On two other Days after the fury of the drunkards had passed, my friends wished to have my case Decided, and my fate settled, before matters became more exasperated, in case any Iroquois were killed at monreal, where they had gone in war. I was taken to the place where the chiefs of the two families, the Tortoise and the bear, had assembled to decide on my lot. Both concluded that they must wait for the return of the Warriors, and Know more particularly their Intentions and those of the Onnontaguez before coming to any determination; that meanwhile The town should be assigned as my prison, and that I might visit what Cabins I Chose. I remained in this State About three weeks, where I had nothing

Onnontaguez auant que de rien determiner; que cependant on me donnoit La bourgade pour prison & que Ie pourrois visiter les Cabanes que Ie Voudrois Ie demeuray trois semaines Enuiron dans cet Estat ou Ie nauois a souffrir que des yurognes qui etoient Importuns & faisoient diuerses menaces, dans les visittes que Ie faisois on mappelloit ordinairem^{t}. Genherontatie le mort ou le mourant qui marche & Ceux qui retournoient dorange petite ville des anglois nen apportoient aucune nouuelle qui me fut fauorable Mais si dun Costé Iauois ces petites Croix a souffrir ñre bonne susanne & les autres Chrestiens a son exemple me furent un grand sujet de consolation; Car sans parler du soin quon auoit de moy pour le temporel, lon mapportoit des Enfans a baptiser on menuoyoit des malades ou des affligez a consoler des adultes venoient se confesser et me rendre Comte de lEstat de leurs Conscience depuis mon depart, lon me venoit trouuer pour prier Dieu, et pour dautres besoins spirituels Iusq^{9}. dans les petits reduits ou lon me cachoit de peur des yurognes lon me preparoit la natte pour le dimanche Et pour les festes Et lors quon Etoit Importuné dans les Cabanes lon portoit la natte dans les champs, pour y prier Dieu plus a lEscart et plus en repos.

Ce qui me consola aussi beaucoup fut deux Croix que Ie trouué plantées sur les tombeaux de deux chrestiens deffuncts depuis mon depart de cette mission. Ie ne parleray que dune pour le present Iauois un bon chretien qui faisoit profession ouuerte du christianisme et qui chantoit sans aucun respect humain dans la chapelle lorsq^{9}. Ie demeurois autre fois Icy en qualité de missionaire Il ne soublia pas

to suffer except from the drunkards, who were Importunate and made various threats. In the visits which I made I was generally called *Genherontatie*— "The dead or dying man who walks;" and Those who returned from orange, a little english town, brought no tidings favorable to me. But if on one Hand I had these little Crosses to suffer, our good susanne and the other Christians, following her example, were a great source of consolation to me; For, not to speak of the care they took of my temporal well-being, they brought me Children to baptize, they sent the sick or afflicted to me to comfort; adults came to confession, and to give me an Account of the State of their Consciences since my departure. People came to me to pray to God, and for other spiritual necessities, Even in the little lurking places where they hid me for fear of the drunkards. The mat was prepared for me on sundays And holidays; And, when we Were Disturbed in the Cabins, the mat was taken into the fields, to pray God there more Apart and in greater peace.

What also greatly consoled me was two Crosses which I found, planted on the graves of two christians who had died after I left this mission. I shall speak only of one for the present. I had a good christian who made open profession of christianity, and who, laying aside all human respect, sang in the chapel when I formerly dwelt Here in the capacity of missionary. He did not in my absence forget the Esteem with which God had Inspired him for his faith, but persevered constantly in his good practices; And Having fallen from the top of a tree to the ground, crushing his whole body, He suffered

en mon absence de lEstime que Dieu luy auoit Inspirée de sa foy, mais Il continua tousjours dans ses bonnes pratiques Et Etant tombé du haut dun arbre a terre ou Il se brisa tout le corps Il souffrit son mal durant 50 Iours quil survécut a Sa chutte auec grande patience ainsy que les chretiens men ont asseuré, Il les fit souvent assembler pour prier Dieu pour luy sur tout aux approche de la Mort & ordonna quapres son deceds on planta une Croix sur son tombeau pour marque quil uouloit mourir chretien et quil ne reconnoissoit pour ses veritables parens que Ceux qui seroient chretiens comme luy cestoit La Coutume de ces pauures chretiens orphelins de sassembler et prier ainsy les uns pour les autres surtout dans les maladies & dans les diuers accidens qui leurs arriuoient. Ceux mesme qui ne lestoient pas les Imitoient & faisoient de petits festins pour les assembler et faire baptiser leurs Enfans, & trouuer par leurs prieres quelques remedes a leurs maladies soit du Corps soit desprit, dautres me tesmoignoient quelq^{s}. fois combien mon absence leur auoit donné de peine nayant personne auec qui Ils peussent vraymment se consoler ou qui put guerir leurs consciences Et qui se trouuoient souuent blessees au milieu dune nation peruerse & dans un estrange boulversement dEsprit ou les Ennemis de la foy et des francois portoient tout a la guerre, mais venons [a] la decision de mon procez.

Larmeè des Iroquois qui fit le Coup de la [*blank space in MS.*] Estant de retour Il sa trouua quil y en auoit trois de cette nation qui y estoient demeurez entre autres un Capitaine considerable qui sestoit enyuré et fut tuè dans une Caue Il ne voulut pas se

his pains for 50 [30 — *Shea*] Days that he survived His fall — with great patience, as the christians assured me. He made them frequently come together to pray to God for him, especially as Death approached; and he ordered that after his death a Cross should be set up on his grave, to show that he wished to die a christian, and that he did not recognize as true kindred any but Those who became christians like him. It was The Custom of these poor orphaned christians to assemble and pray in this way for each other, especially in sickness and the various accidents that befell them. Even those who were not christians Imitated them, and made little banquets to bring them together and have their Children baptized, and find through their prayers, some remedy either for Body or mind; others sometimes expressed to me how much they had grieved for my absence, having no one with whom They could really console themselves, or who could heal their consciences, And who often found themselves shocked amid a perverse nation and in a strange disturbance of Mind, when the Enemies of the faith and of the french excited all to war. But let us come to the decision of my trial.

The Iroquois army which made the Attack on (Lachine) Having returned, It was found that three of this nation had remained there,— among others, a leading Chief who got drunk and was killed in a Cellar. He would not allow himself to be taken. This had Irritated the Irroquois Warriors, who, not satisfied with the prisoners whom they had brought, demanded that I should be presented with the others, as Being also a Prisoner. Our Christians, Fearing that the Warriors, who love Carnage and glory in killing men might cut off one of my fingers or

laisser prendre, cela auoit Irrité les Irroquois Guerriers qui nestant pas contans des prisonniers quils auoient emmenez demanderent que Ie fus representé auec les autres come Estant aussy Captif; nos Chretiens Craignans que les Guerriers qui aiment le Carnage et faire gloire de tuer des hõmes ne me coupassent quelq^{9}. doigt ou me fissent quelque autre outrage pour ma cheminer a la mort me cacherent plus soigneusement que Iamais. Ils me faisoient coucher, tantot dans une Cabane tantot dans une autre et quelque fois mesme dans les Champs afin que les guerriers Et les yurognes ne me pussent pas trouuer, ma protectrice pas dessus tous les autres Ioignoit la prudence a son Zele pour me tirer du danger ou I estois elle alloit au dessein au deuant de ses parens qui estoient des plus considerables guerriers afin de les preuenir. Elle leur raconta cõme Elle mauoit conserué Jusq^{9}. au tems la quelle Estoit resolue de continuer a le faire de toutes ses forces quon ne me pourroit faire aucun mauuais traittement quelle ne le sentit vivement elle mesme, quelle ne me representeroit que lorsque les anciens sassembleroient pour determiner du sort de tous les Captifs Et quon ne mauoit pas mis encore en liberté, Ils luy repondirement quelle auoit bien fait et quelle continuat a la bonne heure dans cette resolution

Enfin le Jour arriué que notre sentence deuoit estre portée nous Estions quatre qui courrions risque destre brulez, nous Comparumes tous pour estre donnez ou mis a la place des Irroquois qui auoient Esté tuez par les francois Et en suitte estre Jugez en dernier ressort, Ieus le tems pendant quon Examinoit notre procez de faire confesser & donner

commit some other outrage on me, to open the way to my death, concealed me more carefully than Ever; they made me sleep sometimes in one Cabin, sometimes in another, and sometimes even in the Fields, so that the warriors And drunkards could not find me. Above all others, my protectress Combined prudence with her Zeal to extricate me from the danger I was in. With this view she went to meet her relatives, who were some of the most influential warriors, in order to anticipate them. She told them how She had preserved me Till that time, and that she Was determined to continue to do so with all her might; that no ill treatment could be done to me that she would feel deeply herself, that she would not bring me forward till the sachems assembled to decide the fate of all the Prisoners, And till I had been set at liberty. They replied that she had done well, and that, so far as they cared, she might adhere to her resolution.

At last the Day came when our sentence was to be pronounced. We Were four who ran a risk of being burned. We all Appeared to be given or to be put in place of the Irroquois who had Been killed by the french, And then to be Judged in a final tribunal. While they were Examining our case, I had time to hear the confessions of my comrades in misfortune and give them absolution. Two of them were burned: for my own part, I could only commend myself to the providence and the mercy of God. I was sent back to different Councils or from tribunal to tribunal,—because, on the one Hand, I passed among our Irroquois as a great criminal and great deceiver, who had caused their fellow-countrymen to be seized under pretext of a st. John's day

L absolution a mes compagnons de fortune dont Il y en eut deux de bruslez, pour moy Ie ne pouuois que me recomander a la prouidence & a la misericorde de Dieu Ie fus renuoyé a diuers Conseils ou de tribunal en tribunal a cause que dun Costé [ie] passois parmy nos Irroquois pour un grand criminel et grand trompeur qui auoit fait emprisonner leur compatriottes sous pretexte dun festin de la s^{t}. Iean et l'autre I estois protegé par des chretiens dont quelques uns estoient les plus notables du pays et lon ne pouuoit me faire mourir sans les affliger

Plusieurs Cependant crurent que Je n'en reviendrois pas lon mauoit desja osté le Chapellet du Col, et lon mauoit peint le visage de rouge & de noir come une victime du demon de la guerre et de la colere Irroquoise, mais la famille a qui lon cestoit desja rapporté de tout estant de nouueau rassemblée ou il fut permis aux femmes les plus considerables de se trouuer, on me fit un trait d'amy en me donnant pour un Capitaine mort de maladie depuis longtems, plutost que pour un de ceux qui auoient esté tuez a lattaque des francois en un lieu nomé la Chine au dessus de Montreal ou qui auoient esté arrestez prisonniers au fort de frontenac, & transportez en france que lon comptoit au nombre des morts ce Capitaine se nommoit Otasseté qui est un ancien nom des premiers fondateurs de la republiq^{e}. Irroquoise, le nommé Gannassatiron qui par cette donnation estoit deuenu lunique maitre de ma vie en usa tres obligeamment, Il ne Consulta que les guerriers de sa famille & demanda seulement ladvis des deux Chretiens qui me protegeoient le plus & qui ne manquerent pas de Conclurrent Incontinent auec luy a la

festival; and on the other, I was protected by our christians, some of whom were the most notable in the country, and they could not put me to death without afflicting them.

Many, However, thought that I would never get off; the Rosary had already been taken off my Neck, and my face had been painted red and black, as a victim to the demon of war and Irroquois wrath. But the family to which all had been already referred having assembled again, where the most important women were allowed to attend, a friendly act was done me by giving me instead of a Chief who had died long before of disease, rather than for one of those who had been killed in the attack on the french at a place called la Chine above Montreal, or who had been arrested as prisoners at fort frontenac and transported to france, who were reckoned as numbered with the dead. This Chief was named Otasseté, which is an ancient name of the first founders of the Irroquois republic.[13] The one named Gannassatiron, who by this donation became sole master of my life, used it very obligingly; He Consulted only the warriors of his family, and asked advice only from the two Christians who protected me most, and who of course Concurred At once with him in the assurance of life which He gave me by these words: *Satonnheton Szaksi*—"My elder brother, you are resurrected." At the same time, he had two of the leading sachems summoned to Report it to them: these sachems made fine speeches and congratulations, exhorting me to uphold the Interests of their nation more than I had yet done. Some Days after, a feast was given to the notables of the town. The host of Father de Lamberville, named Garakontié,

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vie dont Il me donna asseurances par ces parolles Satonnheton Szaksi, mon frere aisné vous estes ressuscite Il fit en mesme tems appeller deux des principaux anciens pour [le] leur faire Scauoir ces anciens firent de belles harangues et des remercimens en mexhortant a porter les Interests de leur nation plus que Ie nauois encore fait quelq^{9}. Iours apres on fit un festin aux notables du bourg, lhoste du Pere de Lamberville nomme Garakontié frere du Capitaine de la nation dOnnontagué & frere du fameux Garakontié qui le premier a porté ce nom fut appellé a la Ceremonie ou lon me donna un nouueau nom pour marque autentiq^{9}. que les Onneiȣts mauoient adopté & naturalisé Irroquois lon mauoit aussy rendu mon Chapellet & pour surcroist de petit bonheur Gannassatiron craignant que Ieusse faim dans son logis ou Il ny auoit pas beaucoup de bled me fit mettre dans celuy de ma protectrice qui est de la mesme famille ou Iauois deja demeuré pendant 3 Semaines, ou lon mauoit si bien deffendu, Et ou se tiennent tous les Conseils dImportance, Cest la ou nous celebrons les festes & les dimanches & ou lon ma preparé une natte ou une petite Grotte qui est dediée a N. s. mourant x^{to} morituro

Les Anglois ne furent pas contans de la decision des Onneiȣts en ma faueur Ils en firent dabord des reproches a mes principaux Protecteurs Tegahoiatiron & a sa femme qui estoit leur allée en traitte chez Eux & leur auoit donne un petit billet quun Irroquois mauoit fait Escrire auec du Charbon en la presence & a la Sollicitation de ma Protectrice pour luy acheter quelques hardes qui demandoit a un Anglois de ses amis; les Anglois mescontans quon

brother of the Chief of the Onnontagué nation, and brother of the famous Garakontié who first bore that name, was invited to the Ceremony, where a new name was given to me, as an authentic mark that the Onneiouts had adopted me and naturalized me as an Irroquois. My Rosary had also been restored to me; and, to crown my little happiness, Gannassatiron, fearing that I might feel hunger in his cabin, where There was not much corn, put me in that of my protectress, who is of the same family,— where I had already remained for 3 Weeks, and where I had been so well defended, And where all the Important Councils are held. It is there that we celebrate the holidays and sundays, and where a mat has been prepared for me, and a little Grotto which is dedicated to Our dying lord, *christo morituro.*

The English were not pleased with the decision of the Onneiouts in my favor; They at first reproached my main Protectors Tegahoiatiron and his wife, who had gone to trade with Them, and had given them a little note which an Irroquois had made me Write with Charcoal, in the presence and at the Request of my Protectress, to buy some goods for him which he ordered of an English friend of his. The English, displeased at their sparing my life, and wishing to use this opportunity for my ruin, At once mounted their horses to go promptly and report to all the Irroquois nations that I had written very bad things. The Christian woman, who Knew how reluctantly I had Consented to Write the note, because I clearly foresaw that ill-Minded heretics would make trouble out of it, asked to see the note and recognizing it, " Is this," She said, " the bad things that have been Written to you? It was I who made him Write them

m'út donné la vie voulant profiter de cette occasion pour me perdre monterent Incontinent a cheual pour aller plus promptement raconter a toutes les nations Irroquoises que Iauois escris de force, mauuaises choses La Chrestienne qui Scauoit la peine que Jauois eu a Consentir dEscrire ce billet parceque Je preuoyois bien que les heretiq^{s}. mal Intentionnez men feroient des affaires demanda a voir ce billet. & layant reconnu sont cela donc dit Elle les mauuaises affaires quon vous a Escrittes. Cest moy qui les ay fait Escrire. Et Ie scay quil nest fait mention la dedans que de telles choses. Il faut que Vous ayez L Esprit bien mal fait de dire tant de mensonges, de faire si longtems parler un meschant billet dont Je Scay le Contenu & de decrier ainsy un pauure Infortuné: Elle leur ferma la bouche pour cette fois, & son Mary adjoute si vous auez la guerre auec les francois battez vous bien a la bonne heure, mais ne chargez pas a tort Celuy qui nous appartient & dont les affaires sont distinguées de celle de la guerre.

Cela Nempescha pas que les Anglois nappellassent de la decision des Onneiɜts aux Irroquois d'Annié & D Onnontagué, Les Caualiers firent diuerses Courses pour ce Sujet aussi bien que pour leur grand dessein de guerre. Mais Inutilement pource qui me regardoit toutes leurs Intrigues & leurs Sollicitations nont seruy qua leur apprendre quayant Une fois donné la vie a quelquun Ce nestoit pas leur Coustume de la luy oster.

Les Anglois nayant donc que rien gagner par cette voye. Ils firent dautres tantatiues pour me retirer dIcy. Un de leur deputez me vint Un Jour faire compliment dans ma petite Grotte de la part de

there, And I know that he mentions only such and such things in it. You must have a very badly formed Mind to tell so many lies, to make all this long talk about a wretched note, of which I Know the Contents, and to slander in this way a poor Unfortunate man." She shut their mouths that time, and her Husband added: "If you are at war with the french, fight them as much as you like; but do not bring false charges against a Man who belongs to us, and whose business is very different from that of war."

This did Not prevent the English from appealing from the decision of the Onneiouts to the Irroquois of Annié and Onnontagué. Their Mounted men made several Journeys about the Matter, as well as for their great war project, but to No purpose. So far as I was concerned, all their Intrigues and their Solicitations served only to teach them that, the Indians having Once given a person his life, It was not their Custom to deprive him of it.

The English then having gained nothing by this journey, made other efforts to withdraw me from This place. One of their deputies came to me One Day, to compliment me in my little Grotto, in the name of Monsieur The Commissary at Orange, on the Condition of my Captivity, saying that He felt compassion for me, that he was making effectual Plans to deliver me and have me sent back to Quebec; that he would give two Indians for me, etc. Thereupon I assured him that, after the obligations I was under to the Onneiouts, I could not leave them. He Interrupted his Compliments to tell me that the English would not Suffer me Here; I replied that that was the affair of my brothers and of all the Onneiouts,

Monsieur Le Commissaire dOrange sur lEstat de ma Captiuité disant quIl me portoit compassion quil Songeoit efficacement a me deliurer & a me faire remener a Quebec: quil donneroit deux Sauuages pour moy &ce. Sur ce que Ie luy temoignay qu'apres les obligations que Iauois aux Onneiȣts Ie ne pouuois pas les quitter Il Interrompit ses Ciuilitez pour me dire que les Anglois ne me Souffriroient pas Icy: a quoy Ie repondis que ce seroit laffaire de mes freres & de tous les Onneiȣts Et quil falloit Saddresser a Eux Il dit quil le feroit, aussitot on me vint appeller pour assister a la harangue de cet Envoyé du general des Anglois: Il Sortit apres moy Et nous entrasmes luy par une porte & moy par une autre au lieu de L'assemblée, ou Il deuoit parler qui estoit le logis de mon frere Gannasatiron. Il dit dabord que trois Gouverneurs Anglois tenoient leur Conseils de Guerre a Orange, Mais que Celuy de Neufyork Les Inuitoit particulierement a les venir trouver pour faire une nouuelle alliance auec Eux. Les Deputez de toutes les Nations Irroquoises se rendirent a Orange ou Il leur fit de grandes conjoüissances du grand succez que leurs armes auoient eu depuis peu sur les françois au lieu nommé La Chine Il les Exhorta de nouueau par diuers presens a la guerre Il leur adjoüta quil leur abandonnoit le fort de Frontenac dont Ils se feroient aisement les Maistres puisque la Garnison y mouroit de faim. Mais larmée des Irroquois ny Estant arriuée quapres que les françois leurent abandonné, Ils neurent pas la gloire de les en auoir chassez, On y trouua encore bien des viures qui firent voir que ce nestoit point la faim qui auoit fait quitter ce poste Mais plustost la difficulté

And that he must apply to Them. He said he would do so. I was immediately summoned to attend the harangue of this Envoy of the English general: He Went out after me, And we entered the place of assembly, he by one door and I by another. The place where He was to speak was the cabin of my brother Gannasatiron. He began by saying that three English Governors were holding a Council of War at Orange, But that the Governor of New york especially Invited Them to come and meet them, and form a new alliance with Them. The Deputies of all the Irroquois Nations proceeded to Orange, where great rejoicings were made over the great success which their arms had recently had over the french at the place named La Chine. He again Exhorted them to war by various presents. He told them further that he gave up fort Frontenac to them, and that They could easily become Masters of it, as the Garrison was dying of hunger; but as the Irroquois army Did not reach it till after the french had abandoned it, They had not the glory of having driven them out. Much provision was still found there, which showed that famine had not driven them from that post, But rather that the difficulty of revictualling when necessary had induced The Governor of Canada to recall his Soldiers.[14]

Beside this, the English had formed the project of three armies; The first was to go by way of The River of the Irroquois, The Second by way of Lake saint Sacrement, and the Third by sea, to besiege Quebec, where the three armies were to unite.

But This grand project did not succeed in the way They had flattered themselves: The Two land armies were broken up by a special Providence of God.

de la ravitailler lors quil en auroit esté besoin auoit porté Le Gouuerneur de Canada den rappeller les Soldats.

Les Anglois outre cela auoit forme le dessein de trois armées La premiere deuoit aller par La Riuiere des Irroquois La Seconde par le Lac du sainct Sacrement & la Troisiesme par mer pour assieger Quebec ou les trois armées deuoient se reunir.

Mais Ce grand dessein ne reussit pas comme Ils se l'estoient promis Les Deux armées de terre furent rompües par une particuliere Prouidence de Dieu La petite verolle arresta entierement la premiere, & dissipa aussi la Seconde ou Il y auoit quatre Cens Anglois qui furent obligez de rebrousser chemin par ordre des Irroquois quon pouuoit dire au moins en ce tems la, plutost Maistres des Anglois que les Anglois ne lestoient des Irroquois

Il ne resta de cette Seconde armée quun party qui attaqua les François de la Prairie de la Magdeleine Le Gouuerneur de la nouuel Yorc fit emprisonner trois ou quatre des principaux Capitaines Anglois qui auoient ramené leurs trouppes Sans auoir Executé Les ordres de nous enleuer la nouuelle france ou de la Saccager. Cest de Quebec que nous apprenons la mauuaise reuscite de leur troisiesme armée Et on a bien fait de men Escrire aussy bien que de quantité dautre choses. Car sans cela les Anglois en feroient bien accroire aux Irroquois en racontant leurs victoires & leurs proüesses. Mais Dieu soit beny de ce quil a Conserué Le Canada que le danger Euité fasse sages les Gens du pays pour laduenir Bella premunt hostilia da robur fer auxilium O Deus Misericors

The smallpox stopped the first completely, and also scattered the Second, in which There were four Hundred English who were compelled to march back by order of the Irroquois,— who, at least at that time, might be said to be more Masters of the English, than the English were of the Irroquois.

Of this Second army nothing was left but a party which attacked the French at la Prairie de la Magdeleine. The Governor of new Yorc put under arrest three or four of the principal English Officers, who had brought back their troops Without having Carried out The orders to wrest new france from us, or Sack it. From Quebec we learned of the wretched failure of their third army; And they did well to Write to me about it and many other things, As but for this the English would have made the Irroquois believe them, by rehearsing their victories and prowess. But blessed be God, that he has Preserved Canada. May the danger they have Escaped teach the People of the country wisdom in the future. *Bella premunt hostilia, da robur, fer auxilium — O Deus Misericors.*

The Fish — That is the name of the Governor of Manath or new York[15] — has earnestly exhorted the Irroquois not to Listen to me, and especially to beware of my Letters. His side must be weak indeed, If my pen can demolish it; But It must be that the Spirit of God is working, And I Believe that it will be the sins of the English, rebels to their King, rather than my pen, which will overthrow them. Here We See and Hear of so many ill-devised plans emanating from the English, that the Irroquois, when They Are not Intoxicated, Seem much more reasonable than They.

Le Poisson Cest le nom du Gouuerneur de Manath ou nouuelle York a fort recomandé aux Irroquois de ne me pas Escouter & sur tout de me donner de garde de mes Lettres son party seroit bien foible, Si ma plume le pouuoit renverser Mais Il faudroit que lEsprit de Dieu sen meslat. Et Je Crois que ce seroit les pechez des Anglois rebels a leur Roy & a la foy plutost que ma plume qui les renuerseront, Nous Voyons et nous Entendons passer Icy tant de choses mal concertées qui viennent des Anglois que les Irroquois Semblent beaucoup plus raisonnables quEux quand Ils ne Sont pas Yures.

Les Onneiõts mayant adopté pour un nommé Otasseté qui de son uivant Estoit homme de Conseil Et qui passoit de toute ancienneté pour auoir [eté] un des Soutiens de la Nation Ils mobligent quelques fois dassister aux Conseils quand ce ne seroit que pour scauoir dequoy Il est question pour leur en faire rapport au moins quand ce sont des choses de Consequence pour le pays.

Les Anglois Et Ceux qui suiuent leurs Interests Ont peine de my voir Ils voudroient bien men Exclurre Et me priuer de voix actiue et passiue, Les vrays Onneiõts au contraire & Ceux qui soutiennent encores Les interests de la foy & de leur terre my authorisent le plus quils peuuent, Et comme l'honneur de Dieu & de lEglise se trouuent bien souuent meslez dans ces sortes daffaires publiques, Ie suis obligé moymesme de parler dans plusieurs occasions qui regardent le Seruice de Dieu parceque les Sauuages qui dependent des Anglois pour la traitte n'osent ordinairement rien dire qui leur puisse deplaire, Et Ie ne connois quasy que notre bonne

The Onneiouts having adopted me for one called Otasseté, who in his lifetime Was a member of the Council, And who was regarded from all antiquity as having been one of the Mainstays of the Nation, They oblige me sometimes to attend the Councils, if only to know what the matter in question is, to explain it to them — at least, when these are Important affairs that concern the country.

It Annoys the English, And Those who uphold their Interests, to see me there, and They would much like to Exclude me, Or deprive me of voting or being chosen to any position. The true Onneiouts, on the other hand, and Those who still support The cause of the faith and their country, give me all the authority there that they can. And, as the honor of God and the Church is often intermingled in public affairs of this kind, I am myself compelled to speak on many occasions which regard the Service of God; because the Indians, who depend on the English for their trade, generally dare not say anything that can displease them, And I know hardly any one except our good Susanne Gouentagrandi who speaks to them boldly, and who maintains thoroughly her rank of agoianders for the faith And for the land of Onneiouts.

Gannasatiron, my brother, once spoke to them pretty boldly; For, as They were always Importunate And made several attempts to get me into their hands, sometimes with the sachems, and sometimes with him, because they always referred them to him, They asked him how it came that he Alone was master of my person, and not the sachems. "It is because I took him as my brother, and because I won him in war; And so far He belongs to me, as what

Susanne Gouentagrandi qui leur parle hardiment & qui soutienne for[t] bien son rang dagoïanders pour la foy Et pour la terre dOnneiʊts

Gannasatiron mon frere leur a aussi parlé une fois assez hardiment Car comme Ils lImportunoient tousjours, Et faisoient diuerses tentatiues pour m'auoir tantost aupres des anciens et tantost aupres de luy parcequon les luy renuoyoit tousjours Ils luy demanderent dou venoit que luy Seul estoit le maitre de ma personne et non pas les anciens Cest que Ie lay pris pour mon frere et que Ie lay gagné a la guerre, Et partant Il est a moy comme ce que vous auez dans vos maisons est a vous, Mais a vray dire Je nen suis plus le maistre Il est deuenu mon aisné Et Ien ay fait maistre les Chrestiens, sur qui vous auez bien de la peine a rien gagner Et Je vous Conseille de desister. Comme neantmoins Ils continuôient encores leurs poursuittes Il dit au Commissaire Kʊiter quil perdit entierement lesperance de memmener Et quil n'en parlat plus Iamais. Le Commissaire mappellast Le lendemain a lEscart Et me fit dire par un Interprette que Iusque a present Il auoit fait son possible pour me tirer de Captivité mais que Ie ne lauois pas secondé Et que Ie mauois tenu compte de toutes ses poursuittes non plus que des offres obligeantes quil m'auoit fait faire. Monsieur le Ministre d'Orange, Je luy respondis que Je luy estois obligé et a Monsieur le Ministre de leurs offres mais que Je laurois esté encore d'auantage si les offres & les Complimens auoient esté suiuis de quelque bon effet, Mais que ce nauoit esté que des paroles en lair qui ne se soutenoient pas & se Contredisoient les unes les autres sans que Ieusse ueu rien de Solide, ny mesme un

you have in your house belongs to you. But, to tell the truth, I am no longer his master. He has become my elder brother, And I have made the Christians his master; And, as you will not find it easy to get much from them, I Advise you to desist." Yet, as They still pushed the matter, He said to the Commissary, Kwiter,[16] that he must give up all hope of carrying me off, And that he must say No more about it. The Commissary called me Aside The next day, And told me through an Interpreter that up To this time He had done all he could to release me from Captivity, but that I had not supported him, And that I had paid no regard to all his efforts, any more than I had to the obliging offers made to me by Monsieur the Minister at Orange.[17] I replied that I was much obliged to him and to Monsieur the Minister for their offers, but that I would have been still more so, if the offers and Compliments had been followed by any good result; But that they had been only words in the air, which did not harmonize and really Contradicted each other, without my being able to see anything Solid, or even a single word in writing on which I could rely or by which any Kind of Satisfaction was made for all that they had Unjustly made me lose at Onnontagué — which was a place in some sort privileged and Devoted to the discussion of affairs of peace, especially concerning the Irroquois nations. I said that, moreover, no matter what tempting offers at Orange might be made to me, I could Never resolve to leave the Onneiouts, to whom I was under too great obligation, — which I could Never acknowledge except by sacrificing myself, in Imitation of Jesus Christ, for their temporal And Eternal Welfare.

seul mot de lettre sur lequel Ie pusse me fier ou par lequel on me fit quelque Sorte de Satisfaction de tout ce quon mauoit fait tres Injustement perdre a Onnontagué qui estoit un lieu en quelque façon priuilegié & Consacré pour traitter les affaires de la paix sur tout le qui regardoit les nations Irroquoises, qu'au reste quelque party auantageux qu'on me fit a Orange Ie ne pourrois Iamais me resoudre a quitter les Onneiȣts a qui I'auois trop dobligation, que Ie ne pourrois reconnoitre quen me sacrifiant a lImitation de Jesus Christ pour leur Salut temporel Et Eternel.

Nous nous separasmes la dessus ou depuis ce tems la Les Anglois mont laissé assez en repos quoy que Ie scache que Ie leurs suis Icy une grande Espine au pied. Mais si Je les pouuois aussy Seruir selon Dieu pour leur conversion Et pour le repos publiq^{9}. Je le ferois de tout mon Cœur Et Joublirois tout le tort quils mon fait.

De tout ce que dessus vos reuerence[s] peuuent Iuger combien Iay besoin du secours du Ciel et des prieres des gens de bien pour vous engager dauantage a ne nous les pas Epargner, Je vous diray encore un mot de Zele de ma bonne Protectrice.

Les Iroquois d Agnié qui a cause de leur voisinage des Anglois leurs Sont fort attachez, ont tenté de menleuer sous pretexte de venir entendre le Jour de noel Les Confessions de quelques Chretiens qui sont parmy Eux Mais notre bonne Chretienne Gouentagrandi qui n Ignoroit pas leur dessein. Respondit aux Enuoyez, que Ceux qui auoient tant denuie de prier Dieu & de se Confesser le jour de Noel pouuoient venir Eux mesmes a Onneiȣts Et quelle voyoit assez lartifice des Anglois au pouuoir de qui on me vouloit liurer.

Thereupon we parted, and since that time The English have left me in comparative quiet, although I know that while Here I am a great Thorn in their sides; but if I could also Serve them before God for their conversion And for the public repose, I would do so with all my Heart, And I would forget all the wrong they have done me.

From all the foregoing your reverences may Judge how much I need the help of Heaven and the prayers of good people. To induce you more earnestly not to Withhold them, I will say a word more of the Zeal of my good Protectress.

The Iroquois of Agnié — who, being very near the English, Are strongly attached to them — tried to carry me off on pretext of wishing me to come on christmas Day to hear The Confessions of some Christians who are among Them; But our good Christian Gouentagrandi, who was not Ignorant of their designs, Told the Messengers that Any who were so anxious to pray to God and go to Confession at Christmas could Themselves come to Onneiouts, And that she saw through the trick of the English, into whose hands they wished to deliver me.

Besides the porcelain that the good woman has Often given me to speak in the Councils, She has given several feasts to bring people together, And to give greater solemnity to the festivals of christmas, Epiphany, easter, etc., — to such an extent that in these feasts we have raised the standard of holy peace; And, in case they do not wish to Hear there of Holy war, in the Hope that Heaven will be on our side, And that Those who obstinately refuse to hear the voice of God, who does not love the shedding of human blood, And who does not wish war

Outre la pourcelaine que cette bonne femme ma Souuent donnée pour parler dans les Conseils Elle a fait diuers festins pour assembler le monde Et pour rendre plus celebres les festins de noel, des Rois de la resurrection &ce. tellement que dans ces festins nous auons leué lestandart de la sainte paix, Et en cas quon ny veille pas Entendre de la Sainte guerre, dans lEsperance que le Ciel sera pour nous Et que Ceux qui seront opiniatres a ne pas ecouter la voix de Dieu qui naime pas l'effusion du sang humain Et qui ne veut point de guerre si elle nest sainte tost ou tard seront punis: Et Ceux au contraire qui nous fauorisent seront recompensez, au reste nous mettons tous nos petits desseins entre les mains de Dieu Et aux pieds du Crucifix ny cherchant que la gloire de son sainct nom & le salut auec le repos des peuples Ie les recommande encores aux Saincts Sacrifices & prieres de vos Reverences a qui Je suis de Cœur & auec respect

Mes R^ds^. Peres
Tres humble & tres obeissant
seruiteur en N. S.
Pierre Millet
de la Compagnie de Jesus

Jaurois bien encore des choses a Escrire mais le temps ne me le permet pas ce sera Dieu aydant pour une autre occasion.

unless it is holy, will sooner or later be punished, And on the other hand Those who favor us will be rewarded. Yet we put all our little designs in the hands of God, And at the foot of the Crucifix, seeking only the glory of his holy name, and the salvation with the quiet of the nations. I commend them once more to the Holy Sacrifices and prayers of your Reverences, of whom I am in Heart and with respect,

My Reverend Fathers,
Your very humble and very
obedient servant in Our Lord,
PIERRE MILLET,
of the Society of Jesus.

I would have much more to Write, but time does not permit. This, with God's help, will be for another occasion.

Memoire Pour les Iroquois Chrestiens du saut en Canada

fevrir 1692

Monseigneur De Pontchartrain.

A tres humblement suplié de vouloir bien se souvenir des services que les colonies d'Iroquois Chrestiens etablies en la nouvelle france ont rendus. et rendent encore aux francois pour la defense de qui presque la moitié est perie en se battant en braves gens contre les Anglois et contre les Iroquois leurs parens, et autres sauvages nos ennemis, dont ils ont tués ou pris un bon nombre depuis la guerre. Ils les decouvrent partout et nous avertissent de leurs marche; ce que les francois ne peuvent pas faire comme eux dans les bois ou ils ont souvent atteints avec leur vitesse ordinaire divers partis qui emmenoient des Captifs francois et sauvages pour les bruler à petit feu. Ils les ont attaquez sur terre et sur les Eaux; ou ils se sont jettez en combattant, ils les y ont defaits a la nage, et leur ont enlevé leurs prisonniers qu'ils ont ramenés.

La Religion nous les a si fortement attachés, quils ont méprisé les caresses, les presents, et les menaces des autres Iroquois, leurs Compatriotes qui les solicitoient d'abandonner nôtre party, et de retourner avec eux pour nous faire la guerre conjointement. Ils ont souffert en genereux Chretiens, et en constans amis des francois des incisions cruelles qu'ils leur

Memorial in Regard to the Christian Iroquois of the saut in Canada.

February, 1692.

MONSEIGNEUR DE PONTCHARTRAIN Is very humbly supplicated to please remember the services that the colonies of Christian Iroquois established in new france have rendered and are still rendering to the french, — for the defense of whom almost half of these savages have perished while fighting as brave men against the English, and against the Iroquois, their relatives, and other savages, our enemies, of whom they have killed or captured a goodly number since the war. They find them out everywhere, and warn us of their marches, which the french cannot do as they can in the woods, — where, with their ordinary swiftness, they have often overtaken various parties who were bringing back french and savage Captives, to burn them at a slow fire. They have attacked the enemy on land and upon the Water, into which they have often thrown themselves while fighting; and have there, while swimming, defeated the foe, and taken away their prisoners, whom they brought back with them.

Religion has so strongly attached them to us that they have despised the caresses, the presents, and the threats of the other Iroquois, their Compatriots, — who were soliciting them to abandon our side and return with them, in order that all together might

ont fait sur le corps, la mutilation de leurs doigts, et les tourmens du feu dans lesquels plusieurs ont expiré sans qu'on aye pû ebranler la fidélité quils ont voué a Dieu, et au Roy: jusques la que tous ceux et celles a qui les ennemis ont donné la vie aprez avoir eté pris, sont toujours revenus vers nous pour conserver le christianisme qu'ils y ont embrassé, pour nous informer aussi des desseins des anglois, et des Iroquois, et pour nous donner des preuves incontestables qu'ils font dans nos interests.

Vu que la guerre les occupe trop pour avoir leurs besoins par le moyen de la Chasse, Sa majesté eut la bonté de leur accorder l'an passé quelque gratification en vertu de laquelle on à donné des hardes a ceux qui venoient de tuer ou de prendre des ennemis.

Il y a pareillement beaucoup de pauvres veufves, et enfans orfelins dont les peres et les maris ont esté tués a la guerre qu'ils ont entreprise pour nous, qui etant destitué du secours quils recevoient de leur chasse, sont dans une extreme disette de toutes choses. Si le Roy vouloit bien etendre sa charité jusque sur ces fidelles amis des francois elle luy seroit d'un grand merite devant Dieu, et a ces bons chretiens un nouveau motif bien engageant pour continuer leurs services. voyant qu'aprez leur mort leurs femmes, leurs enfans, et leurs pauvres parens ne seroient pas delaissez.

Il est indubitable que cette liberalité seroit trés avantageuse a la nouvelle france a qui l'on assureroit le secours de ces vaillans sauvages que les ennemis tachent par toute sorte de voyes de nous ôter parceque leur maniere de faire la guerre dans les bois

make war against us. They have suffered, as brave Christians and constant friends of the french, cruel incisions that have been made upon their bodies, mutilation of their fingers, and the torments of the fires in which many have expired; yet these sufferings could not shake the fidelity they have vowed to God and to the King. So great has been that fidelity that all, both men and women, whose lives the enemy spared after capture, have always returned to us to continue in the christianity that they have embraced here, to inform us also of the designs of the english and of the Iroquois, and to give us incontestable proofs that they are acting in our interests.

Seeing that the war occupies them too much for supplying their wants by means of the Chase, His majesty had the goodness to grant them last year some gratuity, by virtue of which those who have just killed or captured enemies have been given clothes.

There are likewise many poor widows and orphan children whose fathers and husbands have been killed in the war which they have undertaken for us, who, being destitute of the help they received from their hunting, are in an extreme want of all things. If the King would please to extend his charity thus far to these faithful friends of the french, it would be a great merit to him before God; and to these good christians a new and very attractive reason for continuing their services, seeing that after their death their wives, their children, and their poor relatives would not be forsaken.

There is no doubt that this liberality would be very advantageous to new france, to which the help of these valiant savages would be assured. Their

les deconcerte, et qu ils leur seroit plus aisé de nous insulter si nous en étions privés.

Pendant quelques attaques que ces Iroquois chretiens soutirent vigoureusement l'an passé dans leur fort du saut, tout ce quils avoient d'artillerie creva il plairà a Monseigneur de Pontchartrain de leur faire donner s il luy plaist ceux petits canons, ou deux couleurines.

enemies try in all sorts of ways to take them from us, because their manner of making war in the woods disconcerts the foe, and because it would be easier for the latter to injure us if we were deprived of these allies.

During some attacks that these christian Iroquois sustained vigorously last year in their fort of the saut, all the artillery that they possessed burst. May it please Monseigneur de Pontchartrain[18] to have them given, if he please, those little cannon, or two culverins.

CLXIV—CLXVIII

Documents of 1694-95

CLXIV.—Lettre au R. P. Jean Chauchetière, a Limoges. Claude Chauchetière; Villemarie, 7 août 1694

CLXV.—Lettre au P. Jacques Jouheneau, à Bordeaux. Claude Chauchetière; Villemarie, 20 Sept. 1694

CLXVI.—Lettre au R. P. Jacques Bruyas, Supérieur de la Miſſion, en forme de Journal de la Miſſion de l'Immaculée Conception de N. D. aux Ilinois. Jacques Gravier; [Peoria], 15e Fevrier, 1694

CLXVII.—Lettre à un Père Missionaire de Chine. Jean de Lamberville; Paris, 23 Jan:, 1695

CLXVIII.—Pis G. Marest iter et missio in sinum Hudsonium in ora septentrionali Canadæ an. 1694. Epistola ad R. P. Thyrso Gonzales, Præpositum Generalem Societatis Jesu, Romæ. Gabriel Marest; Quebec, oct., 1695

SOURCES: Docs. CLXIV. and CLXV. are from a copy, in St. Mary's College archives, Montreal, of an apograph by Father Martin, which is now in Quebec. Doc. CLXVI. is reprinted from Shea's Cramoisy series, No. 1. Docs. CLXVII. and CLXVIII. are from Rochemonteix's *Jésuites*, t. iii., pp. 613-620 and 628-630, respectively.

Lettre du P. Chauchetière à son frère.

A Villemarie, ce 7 août 1694.

Mon R. Père

Pax X^ti.

Pour vous faire un peu de part de nos mathématiques, ie vous diray qu'ayant leu dans le petit livret de la connoissance des temps que l'eclipse de lune qui est arrivée ici le 11 janvier, et qui nous a paru la lune s'allant coucher à ouest-nor-Ouest, ne put pas vous paroistre parcequ'il y a cinq heures de distance entre vostre méridien et le vostre, et le soleil ne se levant sur nostre horison qu'à 7 heures 38 minutes, nous pouvions voir la lune; Pour ce qui est de celle du soleil qui vous arriva le 22 juin à 4 heures et un quart du soir, et arriva à nous entre onze et demie avant midi a cela de particulier que vous l'avez veu fort petite, car le disque du soleil ne vous estait couvert que de 4 doigts, et nous le vismes couvert de 8; il ne restoit du soleil qu'un croissant semblable a la lune vers son premier quartier; le milieu fut a midi et demi, la fin de l'éclipse fut à une heure, partie eclipsée estait au nor-ouest. Elle nous dura pres de deux heures. Nous ne pûmes voir celle du 7 juillet, i'en avois averty des le 22 de juin, mais comme la lune estoit couverte a son lever, elle ne nous paru que sur les 9 heures et l'eclipse avoit commencé avant 8 heures. Faites vos reflexions sur les prochaines eclipses et nous les

Letter by Father Chauchetière to his brother.

VILLEMARIE, this 7th of august, 1694.

MY REVEREND FATHER,

Pax Christi.

To give you some share in our mathematics, I may tell you that I read, in the little book about the knowledge of the times, that the eclipse of the moon that occurred here on the 11th of january, and appeared to us while the moon set in the west-northwest, could not be visible to you, because there is a difference of five hours between your meridian and ours; while, as the sun rose on our horizon only at 38 minutes past 7 o'clock, we were able to see the moon. As regards the eclipse of the sun that was visible to you on the 22nd of june at a quarter past 4 in the afternoon, and to us between eleven and half past eleven in the morning, it had this peculiarity, that you saw it as a very small one; for the sun's disk appeared to you to be covered to the extent of only 4 fingers, while to us it seemed covered to the extent of 8. There remained of the sun merely a crescent, like that of the moon in its first quarter; the eclipse was at its height at half past twelve, and it was over at one o'clock; the eclipsed part was toward the northwest. It lasted about two hours. That of july 7 was not visible to us. I had given notice of it on the 22nd of june; but, as the moon was clouded over on rising, it appeared to us only about 9 o'clock, and the eclipse had begun

envoyés. Il estoit parti de QuebeK une grande barque qui estoit allée à la pesche de la morue, mais deux quesches angloises estant survenues l'ont prise et débarqué une partie de l'équipage, et ont emmené l'autre à Baston. Deux vaisseaux venus de France conduits par deux braves Canadiens, capitaines de vaisseau, frères d'un de nos petits escholiers, ont pensé m'emmener avec eux à la baye d'Hudson, où ils vont faire la guerre aux Anglois et prendre le port Nelson qui a esté a nous quelque temps; j'aurois eu là une belle navigation et une petite paroisse de nos Saultois, c'est à dire de nos Iroquois chrétiens qui demeurent au Sault. J'aurois hyverné a plus de 50 de latitude, c'est à dire où le soleil l'hyver ne s esleve sur l'horison qu'a la hauteur des arbres et où il n'y a a bien dire qu'un crepuscule; mais le père mathématicien de QuébeK, nommé le père Silvie qui a desja hyverné là, y est alle. Pour venir aux nouvelles des Iroquois, on a de faibles espérances de la paix: on attend une diette générale des nations a Montréal dans un mois, si l'Iroquois ne nous trompe point. *On a appris par un françois qui s est eschappé recemment des iroquois et qui fut pris quand on me mena à cataraKou il y a cinq ans, que le père Milet, captif depuis quatre ans aux iroquois et qui m'avait succédé au fort de frontenaK* ou il fut pris, est fort considéré des gens de son village; mais qu'il a bien a souffrir *des gens des autres villages et des anglais, quoique le ministre nommé d'ollius qui parle bon françois ait bien soulagé ce père dans sa captivité; c'est un vrai martyr de charité et vn homme de Dieu envoyé pour convertir les Sauvages et consoler les françois captifs.* Pour nous, nous sommes icy à démesler bien des choses avec nostre *Evesque*.

before 8. Study the next eclipses, and let us know the result. A large bark sailed from Quebek for the cod-fishery, but two english ketches appeared and captured it, landing a portion of the crew, and taking the remainder to Baston. Two vessels that came from France under the command of two worthy Canadian ship-captains, brothers of one of our little pupils, nearly took me with them to Hudson's bay, where they are going to fight the English and to take port Nelson, which was ours for some time.[19] This would have been a fine voyage for me, and I would have had a little parish of our Saultois,—that is, of our christian Iroquois who dwell at the Sault. I would have wintered beyond the 50th degree of latitude—that is to say, where the winter sun rises above the horizon only to the height of the trees, and where there is really only twilight. But the father who teaches mathematics in Québek, named father Silvie, who has already wintered in that region, has gone thither. To come to news of the Iroquois, we have some slight hopes of peace; we expect a general diet of the nations at Montréal in a month, if the Iroquois do not deceive us. *We have learned from a frenchman recently escaped from the iroquois, who was captured when I was taken to catarakou five years ago, that father Milet—who has been for four years a prisoner among the iroquois, and who succeeded me at fort frontenak* where he was captured—is highly esteemed by the people of his village; but that he has much to endure *from the people of the other villages and from the english—although the minister, whose name is d'ollius, and who speaks french well, has greatly relieved the father in his captivity. The father is a true martyr to charity, and a man of God,*

Il a establi les approbations limitées; il a ordonné qu'on ne ferait point de congrégation les dimanches au matin; il a osté les communions générales; il a interdict les pp. recollets; il m'a menacé plus d'une fois d'interdit sur une affaire que j'ai eu a demesler avec luy a l'occasion du gouverneur de Villemarie, qui a esté mon pénitent de tout temps, que nostre évesque a traité d'adultère, de scandaleux, de seditieux, voulant se mettre au dessus de l'évesque. Les pères Recollets ayant presanté une protestation a M^r^ l'evesque qui ne vouloit entendre aucune raison, ont ouvert leur église, et levé l'interdit. L'affaire ne manquera pas de faire du bruit en France; notre congregation ne se tient plus qui avait plus de 50 congréganistes. Nous avions coutume de faire *tous les jeudis* les saluts du St Sacrement. Monsieur l evesque ne nous en a laissé que deux par mois, et a donné les autres a M.M^rs^ de St Sulpice, lesquels ne voyaient pas de bon œil les religieux establis dans leur ville. Il veult qu'on refuse la communion sans aucune raison, si ce n'est que les communions sont trop fréquentes en Canada. Son prédécesseur qui voit tout cela, est un s^t^ homme, monsieur de Laval et dit avoir esté bien trompé quand il s'est démis de son evesché en faveur de celuy qui contre son *espérance nous tourmente et ne prend a tasche que d'humilier les religieux*. Mon affaire est celle-ci; M^r^ l'evesque avait fait une ordonnance par laquelle il vouloit qu'on refusast a notre gouverneur les sacrements s'il n'y avait amendement, on accusait ce gouverneur d'avoir trop de familiarité avec une veufve, sur des visites trop fréquentes, et sur des soupçons, et sur une longue habitude. Je luy promis que je ferais

sent to convert the Savages and to console the captive french. For our part we are occupied in clearing up many affairs with our *Bishop*. He has established limited approbations; he has ordered that we shall have no meetings of the congregation on sunday mornings; he has taken away general communions; he has interdicted the recollet fathers; he has threatened me more than once with interdiction. This last occurred in connection with a matter that I have had to settle with him regarding the governor of Villemarie; he has always been a penitent of mine, but our bishop has styled him an adulterer, a scandalous liver, and a seditious man, who is trying to put himself above the bishop. The Recollet fathers, after presenting a protest to Monsieur the bishop, who refused to hear any reason, have opened their church and raised the interdict. This affair will not fail to produce a sensation in France. Our congregation, which contained over 50 members, meets no more. We were in the habit of holding the benediction of the Blessed Sacrament *every thursday*. Monsieur the bishop allows us to do so only twice a month, and has given the others to the Gentlemen of St. Sulpice, who did not look favorably upon the religious established in their town.[20] He wishes us to refuse communion, for no other reason than that communions are too frequent in Canada. His predecessor, monsieur de Laval, who sees all this, is a holy man, and says that he was greatly deceived when he divested himself of his bishopric in favor of him who, contrary to his *expectations, harasses us, and seeks only to humiliate the religious*. My case is this: Monsieur the bishop had issued a decree by which he ordered us to refuse the sacraments to our

de mon costé, comme j avais toujours fait et que je ferais mon devoir. Cecy se passa au commencement du caresme; pendant le caresme il fit diverses assemblées et publia douze cas réservés. Il n'y en avait qu'un dans ce diocèse qui estoit pour les françois qui pechaient avec les sauvagesses. Mr l'évesque d'a présent dit que dans son dernier voyage de France, les évesques de France lui avaient dit que c'estait ïnouy qu'un diocèse fût sans cas réservés: sur cette raison il en a mis. Je fus trouver Monseigneur pour luy demander pouvoir d'absoudre d un cas réservé, et alors il me traita comme un petit écholier, et me fit bien des questions, et voulut taxer la pénitence sans sçavoir le mal, me demandant si les personnes demeuraient dans l'occasion d'inceste, c'estoit la matière. Je vis qu'il se défiait bien de moy et de ma morale. Cependant je me soumis à tout une fois pour toutes. Il voulut me tenter et me faire parler sur nos priviléges: mais je me tiens bien réservé sur ce sujet. Quelques jours après, les pâques approchants je fus le consulter sur les moyens qu'on pouvait prendre pour nostre gouverneur. Il fit en homme de cour, me donnant du galimathias pour m'engager et en cas qu'il n'eust pas réussy, jeter toute la case sur moy. Cependant je m'en suis tiré le plus adroitement que j'ay pu et notre gouverneur a fait ses pâques à Québec, et ma conduite a été approuvée de nos supérieurs; il n'y a eu que nostre Evêque qui m'ait blasmé.

De la mission du Sault choses admirables. Pour ce qui regarde nos Sauvages ils ont continué cette année dans leurs ferveurs comme ils ont coutume de faire. La troupe de Catherine *(dont je vous*

governor, unless there were an improvement in his conduct. The governor was accused of being on too familiar terms with a widow,— on account of too frequent visits, of suspicions, and of a long-continued habit. I promised him that, for my part, I would act as I have always done, and would do my duty. This happened at the beginning of lent. During lent he held several meetings, and proclaimed twelve reserved cases. There was but one in this diocese, and it related to the french who sinned with the savage women. Monsieur the present bishop says that, on his last journey to France, the bishops in that country told him that such a thing as a diocese without reserved cases was unheard-of; for that reason he established some. I went to ask Monseigneur for authority to give absolution in a reserved case. He treated me like a little school-boy; he put many questions to me, and wished to allot the penance without knowing the evil,— asking me whether the persons lived in the opportunity for incest,— that was the matter. I saw that he was very suspicious of me and of my morality. Nevertheless I submitted to everything, once for all. He wished to tempt me and make me speak about our privileges; but I was very reserved on this point. Some days afterward, as easter was approaching, I went to consult him on the measures to be taken with respect to our governor. He acted like a man of the court, treating me to a rigmarole in order to entangle me, and, in the event of his being unsuccessful, to cast the blame on me. Nevertheless, I extricated myself as well as I could; our governor performed his duties at Québek and my conduct was approved by our superiors; our Bishop alone blamed me.

envoyais la vie l'an passée, je ne sçay si vous l'avez reçüe parcequ'un de nos navires se perdit retournant en France, et peut-estre ces papiers estoient-ils dedans, car vous ne m'en parlez pas, j'y avais mis son portrait.) La troupe de Catherine continue dans la pratique des vertus les plus chrestiennes et dans les pratiques héroïques qu'elle a entrepris: cet hiver les plus endurcis furent touchés de Dieu et firent une action qui mérite d'estre ecripte; elle a été appellée *hotoüongannandi* c'est à dire *pénitence publique* parcequ'elle se fit au nom de tous: les hommes assemblés selon les formes sauvages, c'est à dire en festin détestérent l'yvrognerie qui les dominait, ce qui se fit en cette sorte; après avoir convenu ensemble sur ce qu'ils pourraient faire pour satisfaire à Dieu, ils conclurent qu'il falloit que chacun parlast pour soy. en plaine assemblée, et que ceux, ou qui par maladie, ou par autre raison ne pourraient pas le faire feront parler quelqu'un en leur nom: cela se fit pour se préparer aux fetes de noël. chacun parla selon que l'esprit de penitence les faisait parler, et quelques uns parlèrent plus par les larmes qui sortoient en abondance de leurs yeux que par leurs paroles. entrecoupées de soupirs. L'effet a suivy les paroles: les femmes dont le démon était le jeu, la vanité et la volupté, on entièrement renoncé au jeu; il y a un an qu'on n'en entend plus parler. Il se fait parmy elles des confrairies, et surtout parmy les jeunes filles pour s entraider mutuellement à vivre en chrétiennes et se préparer aux actions les plus héroïques.

Il y a deux ans que deux sauvagesses furent prises par les iroquois et brulées par les mains de leurs propres parents en haine du christianisme aussy

I have admirable things to tell of the Sault mission. As regards our Savages, they have continued this year as fervent as they are accustomed to be. Catherine's band *(I wrote you her life last year. I know not whether you have received it because one of our ships was lost while returning to France, and those papers were perhaps on it, and you do not speak of it. I had placed her portrait therein.)* Catherine's band continue in the practice of the most christian virtues, and in the heroic exercises that they have undertaken. Last winter the most hardened were touched by God, and performed an act that deserves to be written down. It was called *hotouongannandi*, that is to say, "*public penance*," because it was done in the name of all. The men, gathered together according to the savage custom,—that is, at a feast,—expressed their detestation of drunkenness, which mastered them. This was done as follows: after agreeing together as to what they could do to give satisfaction to God, they came to the conclusion that each should speak for himself in full meeting; and that they who on account of illness, or for any other reason, were unable to do so, should have some one speak in their names. This was done to prepare for the festival of christmas. Each spoke as the spirit of penance moved him; and some did so more eloquently by the tears that flowed in abundance from their eyes, than by their voices broken by sobs. Words were followed by results; the women, whose demons were gaming, vanity, and voluptuousness, completely abandoned the first of these; for a year, we have heard no more about it. Confraternities are being founded among them, and especially among the young girls, with the object of mutually

bien qu'en haine du Sault. La 1ère. était une veufve, la 2e. une jeune femme de 22 ans qui avait un petit enfant; elles étaient allées chercher des noix dans le bois, elles y furent prises. On les mena comme esclaves et on les traita très-mal par les chemins Un français qui a vu l'histoire, et qui s'est eschappé depuis, raconte cecy par toute la ville. La plus jeune arrivant au village, reçut mille coups de couteaux et une graisle de coups de bastons, mais d'une façon si résignée et si patiente qu'elle touchait tout le monde. On ne laissait pas de la charger des paquets et des hardes des chasseurs; elle arriva donc dans la cabane ainsy mal-traitée, toute couverte de sang, les épaules toutes enflées: en y entrant, dans sa propre cabane, elle fut regardée comme une beste de ses parents: l'endroit où elle s'assit fut marqué par le sang qui sortait continuellement de tout son corps; et pendant une si affliction, on ne l'entendait que prier et remercier Dieu. Elle mourut dans le feu dans lequel on la jetta bientôt après son arrivée en vray martyre. La veufve qui fut aussy brûlée, commença son martyre en cette façon: quand elle fut au poteau elle s'agenouilla et exhorta l'assemblée a remercier Dieu de la grace qu'il luy faisait de souffrir pour luy et les exhorta à se faire chrestiens, et à quitter leurs méchantes coutumes: elle disait souvent dans le tourment: mon Dieu, pardonnez leur, car ils ne sçavent ce qu'ils font; après qu'elle eut fait le signe de la croix, on luy appliqua les fers qu'elle voyoit sans frayeur, et comme si le corps qui souffrait n'eust pas esté a elle. Quand elle fut toute brûlée, on la détacha, et aussitôt elle alla se remettre à genoux sur les charbons

assisting one another to live as christians, and to prepare themselves for the most heroic actions.

Two years ago, two savage women were captured by the iroquois, and burned by the hands of their own kindred, out of hatred for christianity, as well as hatred for the Sault. The 1st was a widow; the 2nd a young married woman 22 years old, who had a little child. They had gone to gather nuts in the woods, when they were captured. They were carried away as slaves, and were very badly treated on the way. A frenchman who was a witness of the occurrence, and who afterward escaped, related the following throughout the town. When the younger woman reached the village, she received innumerable stabs from a knife, and a shower of blows from clubs — but with such patience and resignation that all the people were touched. The hunters did not fail to load her with their packs and clothes. She reached the cabin after having been thus ill-treated, covered with blood and her shoulders galled. On entering her own cabin she was looked upon by her relatives as a beast; the place where she sat was marked by the blood that continually flowed from the whole of her body; but throughout her great affliction she was heard only to pray to God and to thank him. She died, a true martyr, in the fire, into which she was cast shortly after her arrival. The martyrdom of the widow, who was likewise burned, began in this wise: when at the stake, she knelt and exhorted all present to thank God for the favor that he conferred on her of suffering for him; and she also exhorted them to become christians, and to forsake their evil customs. During the torture she frequently exclaimed: " My God, forgive

de feu; elle tomba, quelqu'un luy allant arracher la chevelure elle se réveilla et donna encore des signes des sentiments de la pieté qu'elle avait dans le cœur; Enfin elle rendit sa bienheureuse âme en priant et se repentant de ses péchés et soupirant après la croix. J'ai été long temps le confesseur de l'une et de l'autre, et puis dire qu'une si heureuse fin a été la récompense d'une bonne vie, Cette bonne veufve avait perdu son mary il y avait long-temps, et n'avait qu'un fils qu'elle a laissé bien instruit, et elle vivait dans toutes les vertus que s^t^ Paul demande d'une veufve L'autre etait mariée fort jeune avec un fantasque et inconstant mari avec lequel cependant elle faisait bon ménage. Elle estoit l'aisnée de deux sœurs dont la cadette est encore au sault, leur mère les laissa fort jeunes. Cependant après la mort de cette bonne mère les deux filles faisaient elles leur menage très-bien et avec l'edification de tout le monde. On ne parle icy en ville que de la mort édifiante de ces deux personnes. Si on bannissait la boisson parmi les sauvages, on convient qu'ils feraient honte aux vieux chrestiens de l'Europe dans la facon de vivre et dans la pratique genereuse de la vertu, Mais il faut que notre eglise ait sa part de la persecution que le diable fait au christianisme par la boisson, et nostre évesque qui est si zélé n'a jamais osé ouvrir la bouche encore pour bannir l'yvrognerie de son diocèse. *Ce vice et la guerre* sont deux grandes oppositions au christianisme qui ne peut subsister parmy des esprits foibles durant de si grandes tentations. Nous souhaitons tous, comme s^t^. Franc. Xavier, nous voir si loin des françois avec nos chers sauvages que nous n'ayons plus telles

them, for they know not what they do." After she had made the sign of the cross, they applied the irons. She gazed on these unflinchingly, and as if the body that suffered were not hers. When she was burned all over, she was untied, and at once knelt on the glowing coals; she fell, but, when some one tried to tear off her scalp, she came to herself and gave still further expression to the sentiments of piety that filled her heart. Finally she surrendered her blessed soul while praying, repenting of her sins, and sighing for the cross. I was for a long time the confessor of both these women; and I can say that this so happy ending was the reward of a good life. This good widow had lost her husband long before, and had but one son whom she left well instructed; she lived in the practice of all the virtues that st. Paul demands of widows. The other woman had been married, when very young, to an exacting and inconstant husband, with whom nevertheless she lived in peace. She was the elder of two sisters, the younger of whom is still at the sault; their mother was taken from them while they were very young. Nevertheless, after the death of that good mother the two girls lived together very happily, and to the edification of all. People in the town still speak of the edifying death of these two persons. If liquor were banished from among the savages, it is admitted that they would shame the old christians of Europe by their manner of living, and by their noble practice of virtue. But our church must have a share of the persecution that the devil wages against christendom by means of liquor; and our bishop, who is so zealous, has not yet ventured to open his mouth to banish drunkenness from

pierres d'achappement. Nous voyons dans ces sauvages les beaux restes de la nature humaine qui sont entièrement corrompus dans les peuples policés. De toutes les 11 passions ils n'en ont que deux; la colère est la plus grande; mais encore en ont-ils peu dans l'excés lors de la guerre. Vivre en commun sans procès, se contenter de peu sans avarice, estre assidus au travail, on ne peut rien voir de plus patient, hospitaliers, affables, liberaux, modérés dans le parler; enfin tous nos pp. et les françois qui ont fréquenté les sauvages estiment que la vie se passe plus doucement parmy eux que parmy nous. La foi qui trouve toutes ces préparations y fait un progrés surprenant. Ils souhaiteraient n'avoir jamais connu que les robes-noires: ils répetent cette parole, quelle confusion pour nos françois chrestiens! *Mon occupation sera cette année comme l'an passé, c'est à dire d'estre protorégent de Villemarie avec 12 ou 15 écholiers* et j'enseigne les mathématiques a certains jeunes gens officiers dans les troupes. Nous avons les dimanches nos confessionnaux qui nous occupent et les premiers du mois c'est le plus souvent moy qui presche: et quoique *les messieurs de s^t. Sulpice* ne gardent qu'un certain extérieur avec nous, cependant les grandes fêtes nous allons au chœur avec eux entendre l'office et chanter vespres et mesme aux processions. *Il y a entre eux et nous une convention que nous dirons pour eux chacun une messe, et ils en disent pour nous une fois l'an, nous à la feste de la présentation de la s^te Vierge, et eux pendant l'octave de s^t Ignace; et quand nous mourons nous faisons les suffrages accoutumés des deffunts: cependant ils sont fort hierarchiques.* L'ordre de notre collége est d entrer a 9 h. et la messe se dit à dix; le soir

his diocese. *This vice and war* are two great obstacles to christianity, which cannot maintain itself in weak minds amid such strong temptations. We all desire, as did st. Francis Xavier, to see ourselves so far away from the french with our beloved savages that we may no longer have such stumbling-blocks. We see in these savages the fine remains of human nature which are entirely corrupted in civilized nations. Of all the 11 passions they experience two only; anger is the chief one, but they are not carried away to excess by it, even in war. Living in common, without disputes, content with little, guiltless of avarice, and assiduous at work, it is impossible to find people more patient, more hospitable, more affable, more liberal, more moderate in their language. In fine, all our fathers and the french who have lived with the savages consider that life flows on more gently among them than with us. The faith, finding all these predispositions, makes astonishing progress with them. They wish that they had never seen any but the black gowns; and they repeat this to the confusion of our french christians! *My occupation this year will be the same as during the last — namely, that of proto-regent of Villemarie, with 12 or 15 pupils;* and I teach mathematics to some young men who are officers in the troops. On sundays we have our confessions, which keep us busy; and on the first sunday of the month it is most often I who preach. And although *the gentlemen of st. Sulpice* observe only certain outward relations with us, nevertheless on the principal feasts we go with them into the choir to hear the office, and chant vespers, and even in the processions. *There is an agreement between them and us that we shall each say a*

j'entre à 3 h et à 4 heures je fais la mathematique jusqu'à cinq. *Le R. P. Supérieur n'attend que la paix pour pouvoir m'envoyer aux iroquois ou nostre père captif, le R. P. Millet fait mille biens, il a toute liberté dans son village et il est le refuge des françois esclaves comme luy* et des sauvages convertis. Il nous écrit et nous luy escrivons par les sauvages mesmes, et sans les Hollandois id est anglois nous serions encore bien receus parmi ces peuples. *Vous nous faites le recit de la misère de france, ce n'est pas ainsy dans ce pays*, le bled y est commun, *on a* fait du citre au lieu de vin et les arbres s'y multiplient tous les jours avec succès, nous y avions l'an passé d'*excellents melons, mais cette terre est fort hétéroclite pour les plantes qui voulent de la chaleur*. L'on prétend cependant cette *année faire du vin*, car il y a icy proche une vigne appartenante aux Messieurs qui produit du raisin de france. On ne sait pas encore ce que le païs peut porter parcequ'on ne s'attache qu'a avoir du bled et du foing; les *pommiers sauvages* et de pepin, portent de *fort bonnes pommes* et les branches prennent de bouture facilement; les pechers y portent abondamment, mais comme la vigne, c'est à dire que le fruit est tout à terre, parcequ'il fault couvrir cet arbre de paille ou d'autre chose au mois d'avril de peur qu'il ne gèle: les poiriers sont plus délicats j'en vis un qui fleurit l'an passé deux fois, une fois au printemps, et l'autre fois au cœur de l'esté. On a vüe cette année un pommier chargé de grosses pommes en juin et qui avait une de ses branches toute en fleur. Les cerisiers n'y produisent presque pas de fruit, ils ne font que fleurir et pousser des branches et des racines en si grande quantité qu'il se fait une

mass for them, and they say one for us once a year,—we on the feast of the presentation of the blessed Virgin, and they during the octave of st. Ignatius; and when any one dies on either side, we say the usual prayers for the dead. Nevertheless, they are very hierarchical. The order of our college is to enter at 9 o'clock, and the mass is said at ten. In the afternoon, I enter at 3 o'clock; and, at 4, I teach mathematics until five. *The Reverend Father Superior is waiting only for the peace to send me among the iroquois where our captive father, the Reverend Father Millet, is doing a vast amount of good. He enjoys full liberty in his village, and is the refuge of the french who, like him, are slaves*, and of the converted savages. He writes to us and we write to him, through the savages themselves; and, were it not for the Dutch,—that is, the english,—we would be once more welcome among those tribes. *You inform us of the misery that prevails in france; but it is otherwise in this country.* Grain is common; cider *is* made, instead of wine; and trees are successfully raised, becoming continually more numerous. Last year we had *excellent melons; but this country is very unreliable for plants that require heat.* However, it is asserted that *wine will be made this year;* for close by is a vineyard belonging to the Gentlemen, which yields french grapes. What the country can produce is not yet known, because we try to grow only wheat and hay. The *wild apple-trees*, and those that are raised from seeds, bear *very fine apples*, and the branches are easily grafted. The peach-trees produce abundantly, but like the vine,—that is, the fruit is all on the ground, because the tree has to be covered with straw or other protection until the month of april, lest it freeze. The pear-trees

OLD JESUIT COLLEGE AND CHURCH AT MONTREAL

[Built in 1692–94; burned in 1803. Photographic facsimile of sketch made under the direction of Rev. Arthur E. Jones, S.J., archivist of St. Mary's College, Montreal, from contemporary plans and views.]

forêst d'arbres au pied, mais on ne sçait pas les faire retenir. il y a des prunes noires qui sont comme du damas noir lesquelles passent l'hyver dans l'arbre et sont excellentes au primptemps. J'en ai mangé au pied de l'arbre à l'ascension qui estaient de l'an passé: le froid les cuit comme le feu et deviennent comme celles qui ont passé par le four: le soleil les ramollist. Il y a des coings assez beaux, mais l'arbre vient comme les peschers, il fault le couvrir l'hyver. Cette année nous avons eu rareté dans nostre jardin, c'est un lys blanc; il n'y en a point eu encor icy. Les mm. amassent de la pierre pour faire un beau clocher: le leur est comme un des clochers de nostre église de poitiers, mais de bois sur la charpente; mais l'autre sera de pierres. On fit a la pentecoste la dédicace de leur église, cérémonie qui n'avoit jamais été veue à Montreal: Mgr bénit aussi nostre Chapelle, à laquelle cérémonie je fis le sousdiacre d'honneur et le père Vaillant le diacre. Il nous fit ce plaisir en s'en allant, c'est un prélat très zélé, mais trop jeune pour le païs. Je vous envoie un morceau de pain venu de 500 lieues d'icy, il vient des ilinois il est fait de nefles ou cormes; il a fort bon goût le poil que vous y verrés est du poil de beuf lequel beuf a comme la crinière d'un cheval qui lui pend sur le devant de la teste. J'ay vü passer icy le père pinet, car il n'est demeuré qu'une nuit et un jour; d'icy il est allé au sault attendre son canot qui devait passer la rivière pour le prendre. Nous n avons point eu d'esté cette année, car depuis l'eclipse ou le 22 juin tous les premiers quartiers de lune ont esté fort pluvieux et la terre n'a point echauffé. Nous n avons

are more delicate; I saw one that blossomed twice last year — once in the spring, and once during the course of the summer. This year we saw an apple-tree loaded with large apples in june, which had one branch all in blossom. The cherry-trees bear hardly any fruit; they do nothing but blossom and shoot out branches and roots — in such numbers that a forest of trees grows up at their feet, but the people do not know how to keep them down. There are black plums resembling black damsons, which remain on the trees during the winter, and are excellent eating in the spring. I have eaten some at the foot of the tree, on ascension day, which had been borne in the previous year. The cold cooks them as does fire, and they become like those that have gone through the oven; the sun softens them. There are quinces that are fairly good, but the tree grows like the peach-tree, and has to be covered during winter. This year we have had a rare flower in our garden, a white lily; there have been none here as yet. The gentlemen are preparing stone to build a fine steeple; theirs is like one of the steeples of our church in poitiers, but is made of wood resting on the framework; the other will be built of stone. On pentecost the dedication of their church took place, a ceremony never before witnessed in Montreal. Monseigneur also blessed our Chapel, at which ceremony I acted as subdeacon of honor, and father Vaillant as deacon. He did us this honor on going away; he is a very zealous prelate, but too young for the country. I send you a piece of bread which has come from a place 500 leagues from here. It comes from the ilinois country; it is made of medlars or services, and has a very good taste.[21] The fur

point eu de melons cette année, à peine aurons-nous de la semance. c'est ce que je n'ai pas encore vu à Montréal et chacun s'en estonne; cependant les arbres fruitiers sont bien changés de pommes. on fera du citre en peu de temps dans ce païs et meme du vin puisque les mm. du Séminaire espèrent dans peu pouvoir se passer des vins de france. Plusieurs ont de la vigne dans leurs jardins et le raisin y est fort bon. Nous sommes à 45 de latitude comme Limoges à la supputation de Clavius, qui ne se peut trompu qu'en minute à cose que l'étoile méridienne s'approche encore du pole et que l'apogée du soleil est à présent dans le scorpion. Je ne scay ce que je deviendray. Comme notre collége de villemarie n'est pas fondé, on n'est pas d'avis d'y entretenir davantage un régent. Nous enseignons neanmoins et je me prépare à continuer ma mathematique. J'ay deux ou trois de mes disciples sur les vaisseaux et j'en ay un qui est souspilotte dans un navire du Roy. Cependant notre Révérend Père Supérieur me dit toujours de me tenir prêt pour aller aux iroquois si la paix se fait ou pour aller à la baie d'Hudson.

Je me porte assez bien: il ny a que deux jours cependant que j'avais un grand mal de tête. J'ai peine à lire quelquefois sans lunettes, je ne m'en sers pourtant pas encore. Je fus il n'y a que deux jours voir M^r^ l'intendant pour voir s'il n'y aurait pas le moyen d'avoir le congé de *Pierre Moreau* qui estoit autrefois de la compagnie de M^r^ de la chassaigne, il est à présent à contrecœur; son congé ne sera pas pour cette année. Je voudrais faire quelque chose à la considération du père Sadry pour l'amour de vous.

that you will see in the package is that of the ox, which has a mane like that of a horse, hanging on the front of its head. I saw father pinet[22] while he passed through here, but he remained only a night and a day; from here he went to the sault, to wait for his canoe, which was to cross the river to get him. We have had no summer this year; for, since the eclipse or june 22, the weather has been very rainy during the moon's first quarters, and the earth has not become heated. We have had no melons this year; we shall barely have enough for seed. This has never yet been seen at Montréal and every one is surprised at it. Nevertheless, the apple-trees are well loaded with fruit; cider will soon be made in this country, and even wine,—for the gentlemen of the Seminary hope shortly to be able to do without wine from france. Many have vines in their gardens, and the grapes are very fine. We are on the 45th parallel of latitude, as is Limoges, according to the computation of Clavius,—who can be mistaken only as to minutes, because the meridian star still approaches the pole, and the sun's apogee is at present in the scorpion. I know not what will become of me. As our college of villemarie is not endowed, we are not of opinion that a teacher should be maintained there any longer. We teach, however; and I am preparing myself to continue my mathematics. I have two or three of my pupils on the ships, and one is second pilot on board a King's ship. Nevertheless, our Reverend Father Superior always tells me to hold myself ready to go to the iroquois, if peace is made; or to go to Hudson's bay.

I am in fairly good health; only two days ago, however, I had a very violent headache. I find it difficult sometimes

Saluez, je vous prie, tous nos bons amis, ceux de ma volée et surtout le père Jaques de la nouhe; il ne se souvient peut-être plus de moy.

Adieu, mon cher Père et cher frère, je ne cesse de me souvenir de vous à l'autel et ailleurs,

CLAUDE CHAUCHETIÈRE
de la Compagnie de Jésus.

Il faut prescher et je n'ay point de sermons.

[Addressed: "A mon Révérend Père le P. Jean Chauchetière de la compagnie de Jésus à Limoges."]

to read without spectacles; however, I do not use them yet. I went only two days ago to see Monsieur the intendant, to ascertain whether it would not be possible to obtain the discharge of *Pierre Moreau*, who formerly belonged to Monsieur de la chassaigne's company, and who is now at contrecœur; his discharge cannot be obtained this year.[23] I would like to do something for the sake of father Sadry, through love for you.

I beg you to present my greeting to all of our good friends, to those of my year, and especially to father Jaques de la nouhe; he probably no longer remembers me.

Farewell, my dear Father and dear brother; I never cease to remember you at the altar and elsewhere.

CLAUDE CHAUCHETIÈRE,
of the Society of Jesus.

I must preach, but I have no sermons.

[Addressed: "To my Reverend Father, Father Jean Chauchetière, of the society of Jesus, at Limoges."]

Lettre du P. Claude Chauchetiere, missionnaire au Canada, au P. Jacques Jouheneau, à Bordeaux.

A Villemarie, ce 20 Sept. 1694

M. R. P.

Pax X^ti

Nous sommes dans l'attente de la paix avec les Iroquois et dans l'espérance que les pourparlés que nous avons avec eux réussirant un jour. Ce que aurait desja réussi si les Anglais n'y mettaient pas d'obstacles par leurs conseils, par leurs présents et par leurs armes. Ils font ce qu'ils peuvent pour partager la terre avec nous. Ils ont avancé cette année dans les terres vers les Illinois et les Miamis, qui sont vers le sud, à 40 degrés lat. nord, où nous avons de belles missions que les Anglais et Iroquois auront bientôt détruites, s'ils y sont établis. Il y a 8 jours que deux nations iroquoises vinrent demander la paix, mais tandis que deux sont venues à Montréal, 3 sont allées à Orange parler aux Anglois, sçavoir les aniez, les Onneiouts, les Onnontagués; et les deux qui sont descendues par icy sont les Goiogȣens et les Tsonnontoüans; on a refusé leurs présents, et on leur a dit que nostre chaudière était encore haute et qu'on ne leur donnoit que 30 jours de délay après lesquels nous aurons une plus grande guerre que celle que nous avons eu avec les sauvages si ce n'est que Dieu qui conserve ce païs par une providence

Letter by Father Claude Chauchetiere, missionary in Canada, to Father Jacques Jouheneau, at Bordeaux.

VILLEMARIE, this 20th of September, 1694.

MY REVEREND FATHER,

Pax Christi.

We expect peace with the Iroquois and hope that the negotiations that we have had with them will some day be successful. They would already have been so, had not the English opposed obstacles to it by their counsels, by their presents, and by their arms. They are doing what they can to divide the land with us. This year, they have advanced into the interior in the direction of the Illinois and the Miamis,—who live toward the south, at 40 degrees of north latitude; and among whom we have fine missions, which the English and the Iroquois would soon destroy if they once established themselves there.[24] Two iroquois nations came, 8 days ago, to sue for peace; but, while these two came to Montréal, 3 went to Orange to confer with the English,—namely, the aniez, the Onneiouts, and the Onnontagués; the two that came down here are the Goiogwens and the Tsonnontouans. We refused their presents, and told them that our kettle was still hung; and that we gave them a delay of only 30 days. After that, we shall have war on a larger scale than we have had with the savages, unless God, who preserves this country through an extraordinary

extraordinaire ne nous aide, comme nous espérons, *par les prières des bons Chrestiens du Sault de St Xavier, notre chere mission, ou la ferveur est toujours la mesme, ou Dieu se fait bien voir dans la personne de ces pauvres Sauvages qui continuent à embrasser les plus belles pratiques de la vie chrestienne et religieuse. Nous y comptons trois ou 4 martyrs, brulés par leurs propres parents dans leurs propres cabanes, à cose qu'ils n'ont pas voulu quitter la foy et les françois.* Je les connaissais tous, et en ai souvent confessé quelques uns; il y a parmy ceux-là une jeune femme, laquelle fut prise il y a un an a une lieüe de nostre village: elle étoit nourice et avait un petit enfant de deux ans à son col. Elle fut emmenée à son païs, ou elle fut tres mal reçüe. Elle eut la bastonnade si rudement que l'on nous a rapporte qu'il n'y avoit endroit sur son corps qui ne fût tout en sang, et pour marque de ceci on rapporte qu ayant jetté un paquet qu'on luy avait mis sur le dos, sur la natte ou on luy dit de s'assoyer, tout aussy tôt la natte fut toute couverte de sang. Peu de temps après on attacha son petit enfant a son col pour le brusler avec la mere. Les françois qui sont esclaves aux Iroquois sont tesmoins oculaires de toute cette boucherie et ne peuvent nous raconter ces choses sans pleurer et sans tirer des larmes des yeux de ceux qui les escoutent. Ainsy on ne dira plus que les Jésuites en font accroire au monde quand ils parlent de leurs Sauvages, qui ne sont sauvages que de nom ou d'habit. Les françois s'échappent tous les jours et viennent à Montréal. Les Iroquois en ont rendu 13.

Si les nations européanes avec leurs eaux de vie et leur libertinage ne detruisaient pas les travaux des

providence, come to our aid. We hope that he will do so, *in response to the prayers of the good Christians of Sault de St. Xavier, our beloved mission, where the same fervor prevails; where God manifests himself in the persons of those poor Savages, who continue to embrace the best practices of a christian and religious life. We count three or 4 martyrs there, who have been burned by their own kindred in their very cabins, because they refused to abandon the faith and the french.* I knew them all, and have frequently confessed some of them. Among them was a young woman who was captured, a year ago, a league from our village. She was nursing, and had a little child, two years old, hanging at her neck. She was taken to her own country, where she was very badly treated. She was beaten so severely that we are informed that there was not a single part of her body that was not covered with blood; and, to prove this, it is related that when she threw down a pack which had been placed upon her back, on the mat whereon she was told to sit, the mat was at once covered with blood. Soon afterward, they bound her little child to her neck, to burn it with the mother. The french who were slaves among the Iroquois were eyewitnesses of all this butchery, and cannot relate these things to us without weeping, and without drawing tears from the eyes of their listeners. After such instances, it will no longer be said that the Jesuits are deluding people when they speak of their Savages who are savages only in name or in costume. The french are continually escaping, and coming to Montréal. The Iroquois have given up 13.

If the european nations did not, with their brandy and their licentiousness, destroy the missionaries'

missionnaires, nous aurions de belles églises dans ce pays.

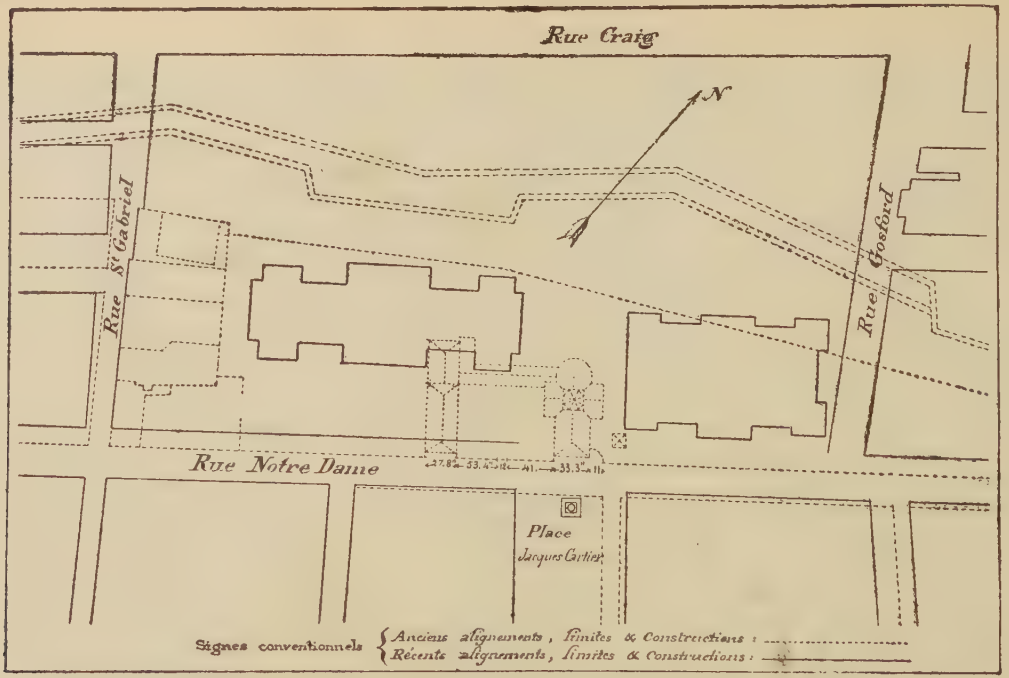
Vous aurez appris les brouilleries qui sont entre Mgr de Quebec et les Recollets. Il a interdit leur église eux ayant obei un mois ou environ, l'ont ouverte. Ils leurs a fait des monitions, ils ont persisté et puis ont montré leurs privileges qui disent qu'un évêque ne peut interdire leur eglise qu'en mesme temps la ville ne s'oblige a les nourrir. Cette guerre ecclesiastique entre les M.M. de S. Sulpice et les relligieux est pire que la guerre des Iroquois a cose du scandale et de la différence qu'il y a entre ces temps icy et ceux de mon arrivée au Canada, ou ie trouvé entre les ecclésiastiques et les religieux cor unum et anima una. Dieu ne laisse pas de nous bénir, parceque la récolte a été bonne quoyque depuis l'eclipse du mois de juin le temps ait été extrêmement pluvieux et tous les renouveaux de lune durant les 1ers. quartiers. *Les 2 PP. qu'on a envoyé cette année sont arrivés heureusement à Quebec, au lieu que les deux prestres qu'on a envoyé de S. Sulpice de Paris, et les P.P. recollets qui estoient dans un navire nommé le S. Joseph, ont été pris à 60 lieues de Quebec* par les Anglois qui les ont renvoyés sans leur faire de mal. C'estoient des flibustiers de la virginie qui se refugient à Baston. Un de nos deux Pères a esté choisy aussy tost pour estre aumosnier d'un navire du Roy qui va à la Baye d'Hudson, *ou je fusse allé si j'eusse eu le temps de descendre à Quebec* pour m'embarquer pour tenir classe de mathématique dans le vaisseau et hyverner au nord. J'ay vu *le P. Pinette arrivé de notre province qui se porte bien* et qui n'a demeuré que 6 jours à

work, we would have fine churches in this country.

You will have learned of the dissensions between Monseigneur of Quebek and the Recollets. He laid their church under an interdict; they submitted for a month or so, and then opened it. He admonished them; they persisted, and showed their privileges, which state that a bishop cannot lay their church under an interdict unless at the same time the town bind itself to support them. This ecclesiastical war between the Gentlemen of St. Sulpice and the religious is worse than the Iroquois war, on account of the scandal, and of the difference between the present times and those that existed on my arrival in Canada — when I found among the ecclesiastics and the religious *cor unum et anima una.* God ceases not to bless us, as the harvest has been good, notwithstanding the fact that, since the eclipse in the month of june, the weather has been very rainy at the renewals of the moon, during the 1st quarters. *The 2 Fathers sent out this year*[25] *have reached Quebek safely; while the two priests who were sent from St. Sulpice in Paris, and the recollet Fathers, who were on a ship named the "St. Joseph," were captured, 60 leagues from Quebec,* by the English, who sent them back without doing them any injury. They were filibusters from virginia, who take refuge in Baston. One of our two Fathers was at once chosen to be chaplain of a King's ship sailing to Hudson's Bay, *whither I would have gone, had I had time to go down to Quebek* to embark on it, for the purpose of teaching a class in mathematics on board the ship, and of wintering in the north. I have seen *Father Pinette, who has come out from our province; he is quite well,* and remained only 6 days at Quebek. He came up at once,

Quebec. Il est aussy tost monté et a demeuré deux jours à Montréal, et s'en est allé à 500 lieües d'icy. L'an est fort édifié de son zèle et de son détachement. Il a fait essay de la vie de missionnaire en venant à Villemarie dans les barques, toujours vent contraire et faisant quatorze lieües en quinze jours par une pluie continuelle, logé sub dio, l'enseigne ordinaire du Canada. Il m'a dit quelques nouvelles de la province et m'a laissé en appetit d'en sçavoir davantage. *Il m'a dit que V. R. se portoit bien, ce qui m'a fort rejoüy aussy bien que la lettre qu'elle m'a fait l'honneur de m'ecrire.* Je suis icy comme l'oyseau sur la branche pour prendre mon vol au premier jour. Il s'en est peu fallu que je n'aye été à Baie d'hudson où le dernier aumosnier a été tué par un malheureux françois emporté de colère. On m'avait aussy destiné pour monter à Missilimakinac prendre la conduite de la mission des Hurons. Enfin je suis demeuré icy ou nous avons une espece de college qui n'est point fondé, mais je crois que MM^rs^. de Villemarie ne l'auront pas longtemps, s'ils ne le fondent a cose que les revenus de notre mission sont fort petits. J'ai des escoliers qui sont bons cinquièsmes; mais j'en ai d'autres qui ont la barbe au menton auxquels j'apprends la marine et les fortifications et autres choses de mathématiques. J'ai un de mes escholiers qui est pilote dans le navire qui va au nord. De plus nous confessons icy les dimanches et festes. Nous prêchons une fois le mois dans nostre église. Mgr nous a deffendu de faire des catéchismes et de basnages [*sc.* tournage?], c'est à dire un petit discours sur les [*blank space in MS.*] ce qui se fait à Quebec.

remained two days at Montréal, and went to a place 500 leagues from here. We are greatly edified by his zeal and abnegation. He experienced some of the trials of a missionary's life while coming to Villemarie in the barks; for the winds were contrary all the time, and they made only fourteen leagues in fifteen days,—amid constant rain, and lodged *sub dio*,—the usual sign for lodgings in Canada. He gave me some news from the province, and left me with a keen desire to learn more. *He told me that Your Reverence was quite well; this has given me much pleasure, and so has the letter which you have done me the honor of writing to me.*' I am here like a bird on a branch, ready to take flight at any moment. I was very nearly going to hudson's Bay, where the last chaplain was killed by a wretched frenchman who was in a transport of rage.[26] It was also intended that I should go up to Missilimakinac, to assume the direction of the Huron mission. Finally, I remained here, where we have a sort of college, which is not endowed; but I think that the Gentlemen of Villemarie will not have it long unless they endow it, because the revenues of our mission are very slight. I have pupils who are good fifth-class scholars; but I have others with beards on their chins, to whom I teach navigation, fortification, and other mathematical subjects. One of my pupils is pilot on the ship which sails to the north. Moreover, we hear confessions on sundays and holidays, and preach once a month in our church. Monseigneur has forbidden us to teach catechism or give the tournage[27]—that is, to deliver short discourses on the [*blank space in MS.*], as is done in Quebek. Can he prevent our doing so, and also from holding



SITE OF OLD JESUIT COLLEGE AND CHURCH AT MONTREAL, RELATIVE TO THE PRESENT CITY HALL AND COURT HOUSE

[Photographic facsimile of plan made under the direction of Rev. Arthur E. Jones, S.J., the result of a careful study of records and traditions.]

Peut-il nous en empêcher, comme aussi de faire les congrégations. Les MM. de S. Sulpice apprehendent que nous ne ruinassions leur paroisse. *C'est pour cela que nous nous jettons plustôt du costé des Sauvages que du costé des françois* pour ne leur faire point d'ombrage. Cependant toute la ville est bien aise que nous soyons icy et blasme les MM^rs^ les prestres de nous traitter de la sorte. Nous espérons les restablissement de tous nos employs peut-être par le changement d'évesque. Nous sommes icy fort mal logés pour les bastiments, mais bien pour la veue, à un arpent de terre hors la ville. Notre église est éloignée d'un demi arpent de nous, le jardin est entre deux, et pour y aller il faut être exposé à la pluie, au vent et à la neige, parceque nous n'avons pas de quoy nous bastir. Nous ne demandons à nostre Révérend Père Supérieur qu'un petit bastiment de vingt pieds au bout de nostre église, mais il n'a pas de quoy nous contenter. Mon sort ordinaire a esté de me trouver tousjours en de nouveaux establissements et *quelquefois il a fallu que je fisses ma maison moy mesme.* Dieu veuille m'en donner une bonne dans le ciel. Il me semble avec cela qu'il n'y a que 3 jours que je suis en Canada, parceque souvent on n'a pas loisir de s'ennuyer. Quoyque les occupations semblent petites, elles sont continuelles et il faut suppléer à tout par soy-mesme et ce qui est plus sur c'est que le travail ne paraist point. Il y a deux ans que j'avais des maux de tête de 15 en 15 jours. ce n'était que d'épuisement, car depuis un an je n'en fus pas sy incommodé, a cose que j'ay un peu plus de repos. J'eus aussi en mesme temps une eresipelle

meetings of the congregations? The Gentlemen of St. Sulpice fear that we shall ruin their parish. *That is the reason why we exert our activities in the direction of the Savages more than in that of the french*, so as not to give them umbrage. Nevertheless, the whole town is well pleased to have us here, and blames Messieurs the priests for treating us as they do. We hope for the restoration of all our occupations, perhaps through the change of bishop. We are very badly lodged here, as regards the buildings; but very well as regards the view, at an arpent from the town. Our church is half an arpent from us; the garden is between the two. When we go to the church, we are exposed to the rain, the wind, and the snow, because we have no means to build. We ask our Reverend Father Superior for only a small building, twenty feet long, at the end of our church; but he is unable to grant our request, through lack of funds. My usual lot has been to find myself ever in new establishments; and *sometimes I have been obliged to build my dwelling myself.* May God be pleased to give me a good one in heaven. With all this, it seems to me that I have been only 3 days in Canada because we frequently have no leisure to be lonely. Although the occupations seem slight, they are continual; and one is obliged to supply everything oneself — and, what is most certain, the work done does not show. Two years ago, I had headaches every fortnight. They were due solely to exhaustion, because for a year I have not been so troubled by them, as I have a little more rest. I also had erysipelas at the same time, — which left marks on my legs, and the attacks whereof are incurable in this country, — as well as a

qui m'a laissé des marques aux jambes dont les maux sont incurables dans ce païs, aussi bien que le flux de sang, et ayant esté envoyé au fort de frontenaK je m'y sentis attaqué du scorbut et ex his omnibus eripuit me Dominus. Excusez, mon Révérend père, mon écripture, on me dit que les navires partiront bien tost et cette lettre est faite à 4 ou cinq reprises. Obligez de la communiquer au p. Jean Chauchetiere pour me délivrer de la peine de recopier. Le père Gale m'a écrit de Cayenne où il est aussy en peine que nous pour mettre en la langue du pays: in nomine patris, sanctificetur, angelus Domini et plusieurs autres choses qui regardent la foy. Je lui écris ce que nous faisons la dessus.

Mon frere m'a bien obligé de m'envoyer un catalogue de province. Je le prie de saluer le Révérend père Tartas provincial, et le Révérend père Verneuil, recteur du collège. Je m'oubliois du R. père Super. de la maison professe. Je prie *le R. p. recteur du novitiat de faire dire un pater et un ave et trois [fois] le gloria patri a ses novices pour moy. C'est une dévotion qui est icy parmi les Sauvages et françois qui vont au tombeau de Catherine, enterrée dans l'église du Sault, quand ils veulent obtenir de Dieu quelque grace. Je l'ay commencé des le jour de son enterrement et j'ai toujours cru que c'estoit elle qui au bout de l'an me conserva quand le vent jetta nostre chapelle à bas, où je fus conservé selon le sentiment commun miraculeusement et je crus que cette sauvagesse vertueuse m'avait rendu en cette occasion les services que je lui avais rendu pendant sa maladie.*

Saluez, je vous prie, tous ceux de nostre volée, et demandez à chacun un peu de part dans leur

bloody flux; and, when I was sent to fort frontenak I felt myself attacked by scurvy, *et ex his omnibus eripuit me Dominus.* Excuse my writing, my Reverend father; I am told that the ships will soon sail, and I have taken up this letter 4 or five times. Oblige me by communicating it to father Jean Chauchetiere, to save me the trouble of recopying it. Father Gale has written to me from Cayenne, where he has as much trouble as we have in translating, into the language of the country, *in nomine patris, sanctificetur, angelus Domini,* and many other things concerning the faith. I am writing to him what we do in such work.

My brother has greatly obliged me by sending me a catalogue of the province. I beg him to convey my greetings to Reverend father Tartas, the provincial, and Reverend father Verneuil, the rector of the college. I am almost forgetting the Reverend father Superior of the house of the professed. I beg *the Reverend father rector of the novitiate to have his novices say a "pater," an "ave," and the "gloria patri" three times for me. This is a devotion practiced here among the Savages and the french, who go to the tomb of Catherine, who is interred in the church of the Sault, when they wish to obtain some favor from God. I began it on the very day of her burial; and I have always believed that it was she who at the end of the year saved me, when our chapel was blown down by the storm. Then, in the opinion of all, I was miraculously saved; and I believed that that virtuous savage repaid me on that occasion for the services that I rendered her during her illness.*

Convey my greetings, I beg of you, to all of our year, and ask each of them to give me a slight share of their memento. I am writing to the Reverend

memento. J'écris au Révérend père Provincial. Je salue le P. Lordis et en finissant je salue tous nos perès et frères des trois maisons.

CLAUDE CHAUCHETIERE
de la compagnie de Jesus.

[Addressed: "A mon reverend père Le reverend pere Jaque Joheneau de la Compagnie de Jésus à Bourdeaux."]

father Provincial. I greet Father Lordis, and, in conclusion, I greet all our fathers and brethren of the three houses.

CLAUDE CHAUCHETIERE,
of the society of Jesus.

[Addressed: "To my reverend father, The reverend father Jaque Joheneau, of the Society of Jesus, at Bourdeaux."]

Lettre du Père Jacques Gravier en forme de Journal de la Miſſion de l'Immaculée Conception de N. D. aux Ilinois.

Le 15 fevrier, 1694.

MON R. P.

C'eſt avec grand plaiſir que je vous informe de l'état de cette miſſion des *Ilinois*, afin que vous jugiez par cette eſpèce de journal que je vous envoie, de tout ce qui s'y eſt paſſé depuis le mois de Mars de l'année précédente et combien il y auroit du bien a eſpérer dans cette miſſion, ſi on y envoyoit de feruens ouvriers. Après avoir été chez les *Oumiamis* pendant l'hiver ſur les glaces, j'ai trouvé les Ilinois qui avoient quitté pendant quelques mois ce qu'on nomme *Kiſkaſkia* et *Kouir akouintauka*. Ils s'etaient aſſemblés tous les jours lors de mon abſence pour prier Dieu dans la Chapelle ſoir et matin, auſſi exactement que ſi j'euſſe été préſent, après quoi vn veillard infirme depuis long tems alloit par toutes les rues du Bourg, criant que les femmes et les enfans vinſſent pareillement adorer Dieu et lui faire leurs prières, . . . et lorſqu'on m'y racontes que pluſieurs enfans étoient decédés ſans la conſolation de les avoir baptiſés avant mon départ.

Vers la fin du Meſme Mois d'Avril je benis la nouvelle chapelle qui eſt batie hors du fort en vn lieu

Letter by Father Jacques Gravier in the form of a Journal of the Mission of l'Immaculée Conception de Notre Dame in the Ilinois country.

February 15, 1694.

My Reverend Father,

I have much pleasure in giving you information respecting the condition of this mission of the *Ilinois*, in order that you may be able to see, by this sort of journal that I send you, all that has occurred in it since the month of March of the previous year; and how great a blessing we might expect in this mission, were fervent laborers sent hither. After having been among the *Oumiamis* during the winter, on the ice, I found the Ilinois—who had, some months before, left the places we call *Kiskaskia* and *Kouir akouintauka*. They had met every day during my absence to pray to God in the Chapel, night and morning, as regularly as if I had been present,—after which an old man, who had for a long time been infirm, went through all the streets of the Village calling out that the women and children also were to go to adore God, and to say their prayers to him, . . . and when they informed me that several children had died, without my having had the consolation of having baptized them before my departure.

About the end of the Same Month of April, I

très commode pour les ſauvages, la veille que je fis cette benediction et celle de la croix qui a près de 35 pieds de haut, j'invitai les françois de vouloir bien y aſſiſter, ceux ci me promirent de s'y trouver et de donner en public des marques de l'honneur qu'ils lui pretoient Ils firent voir aux ſauvages par 4 decharges de leurs fuſils la veneration qu'ils avoient pour ce ſigne de ſalut.

Ver le mi Mai les deputés dés ſauvages de ce village accompagnés de deux françois partirent pour rechercher l'alliance des *Miſſouri* et des Oſages, ces Marchands françois dans la vue de faire quelques avantageux commerce avec ces peuples leur ont fait quelque propoſitions de paix à laquelle ils n'ont conſenté que par complaiſance pour les françois en conſideration de qui, ils ſe ſont reconciliés avec les Oſages. J'aurois volontiers fait ce voyage pour voir par moimeſme, s'il y avoit quelque choſe à faire pour la gloire de Dieu chez les *Tamaroua* et chez les *Kaoukia* qui ſont *Ilinois* et pour fonder les *Miſſouri* et les *Oſages* afin de voir ce qu'on en pourroit tirer pour le chriſtianiſme, ne doutant pas que je n'euſſe trouué beaucoup d'enfans et d'adultes moribonds á baptiſer mais parcequ'il y à des libertins, qui pour continuer leurs deſordres n'aiment pas la preſence du Miſſionnaire, je me contentai de leur dire que j'aurois volontiers fait avec eux ce voyage, dont les difficultés et les fatigues m'auroient été agréables en travaillant pour les interêts de Dieu.

Vers ce tems là comme je temoignois être ſurpris du refroidiſſement que je voyois parmi les *Peouareoua* pour ſe faire inſtruire quelque bonne mine que me fiſſent les vieillards, il y en eut un qui me dit en

blessed the new chapel, which is built outside the fort,[28] at a spot very convenient for the savages. On the eve before blessing the chapel and the cross, which is nearly 35 feet high, I invited the french to be good enough to be present. They promised to be there, and to manifest in public the honor in which they held it. They showed the savages by 4 volleys from their guns their veneration for this symbol of salvation.

About the middle of May the deputies of the savages of this village, accompanied by two frenchmen, went to seek the alliance of the *Missouri* and of the Osages. These french Merchants, with the view of carrying on an advantageous trade with those tribes, made some proposals of peace to them; to these they agreed solely out of complaisance to the french, through consideration for whom they became reconciled with the Osages. I would willingly have performed that journey to see for myself whether anything could be done there for the glory of God among the *Tamaroua* and the *Kaoukia*, who are *Ilinois;*[29] and to sound the *Missouri* and *Osages*, in order to ascertain what could be obtained from them with respect to christianity,—for I have no doubt that I would have found many dying children and adults to baptize. But, as there are among them some libertines who do not love the Missionary's presence, because they wish to continue their evil conduct, I contented myself with telling them that I would cheerfully have undertaken the journey with them, as its difficulties and fatigues would have been agreeable to me while working for the interests of God.

About that time, as I showed that I was surprised by the indifference to instruction that I observed among the *Peouareoua*, notwithstanding the politeness

confidence que ceux de la nation avoient reſolu d'empeſcher qu'on ne vint à la chapelle pour m'y écouter, parceque je decriois leur manière et leur jonglerie, qu'on me feroit cependant bon accueil pour ſauver les apparences. Je m'apperçus bien que cet avis étoit vrai, car le chef des *Perouareoua* qui eſt le premier de tous les jongleurs, fit de fortes oppoſitions à la foi chrétienne, diſant qu'il étoit important pour le public que perſonne n'allat plus prier Dieu à la chapelle juſques à ce que les bleds fuſſent en maturités et que la recolte en fut faite, et qu'alors ils exhorteroit les gens à s'aller faire inſtruire. Le terme qu'il marquoit étoit long dans la penſée que je lui ferois quelqve préſent pour abreger ce temps voyant que je ne pouvoit rien compter ſur un homme auſſi intereſſé qu'il l'étoit, et qui n'avoit nulle bonne volonté j'allai moimeſme inviter les habitans de ce bourg a venir apprendre le chemin du ciel ſans me mettre en peine des oppoſitions que le diable y pouvoit former. Je rencontrai une troupe de pleureuſes qui regretoient un enfant moribund qui expira auſſi toſt que je m'en voulus approcher. La grandmère qui n'ignoroit pas que je l'avois baptiſé depuis un an tourna contre moi toute ſa colère; apres m'avoir dit cent duretés elle ſe jetta comme vne furie ſur moi me pouſſant hors du logis avec beaucoup de violence de peur diſoit elle que par les enchantemens du bapteſme je ne lui cauſaſſe et a toute l'aſſemblée quelque nouveau ſujet de larmes. Je ſouffris cette inſulte avec une tranquillité et une joie qui me ſurprit moimeſme louant Dieu de ce qu'il me faiſoit l'honneur de ſouffrir quelque choſe pour ſa gloire et pour le ſalut des ames. La mauvaiſe humeur de cette femme

with which the old men received me, one of them told me in confidence that his tribesmen had resolved to prevent the people from coming to the chapel to listen to me, because I inveighed against their customs and their juggleries; that they would, however, receive me well, in order to save appearances. I saw very well that this information was true, for the chief of the *Perouareoua*, who was the most prominent of all the jugglers, strongly opposed the christian faith — saying that it was important for the public welfare that no one should go to pray to God in the chapel any more, until the corn was ripe and the harvest over; and that he would then exhort the people to go to be instructed. The period that he fixed was a long one, for he thought that I would offer him a present to shorten it. Seeing that I could not rely in any way upon a man as interested as he, and one animated by no good will, I myself went to ask the inhabitants of the village to come to learn the road to heaven, without heeding the obstacles that the devil might oppose to it. I met a band of weeping women lamenting over a dying child, who expired as soon as I tried to approach him. The grandmother, who was not ignorant of the fact that I had baptized him a year ago, turned all her anger against me; after saying many harsh things against me, she threw herself on me like a fury, and violently pushed me out of the dwelling — for fear, she said, that through the enchantments of baptism I might give to her and to all present some new cause for lamentation. I endured this insult with a calmness and joy that surprised myself, praising God because he did me the honor of allowing me to suffer something for his glory and for the salvation

ne fut pas de longue durée. Elle me fit peu après connoiſtre quelque conſideration humaine l'avoit portée a me traiter de la ſorte, la mort de quelques enfans baptiſés fait apprehender l'approche du Miſſionnaire, lorſqu'il viſite les malades, et l'on s'imagine ſouvent que c'eſt fait d'eux quand il leur donne le Bapteſme.

Le 7 Juin vn petit enfant qui mourut après l'avoir reçu à l'inſu de ſes parens me fit expoſer à bien des rebuts lorſque je voulus m'en approcher. Je n'avois rien oubliée pour faire contenter ſes parens à procurer ſon ſalut, mais ils me firent ſortir lorſqu'il alloit expirer, et me dirent que l'homme mourroit entierément et que ſi l'ame uivoit, comme ie le diſois, on verroit des hommes revenir ſur la terre après leur mort, et qu'ils ſe ſouuenoient bien que la ſœur du moribund étoit morte après que je l'eus baptiſeé et que de peur qu'il n'en arriuat encore autant du malade ſi je le baptiſois, il ordonnoit de ſortir promptement du logis. Deſeſperant de venir a bout de mon deſſein, je m'addreſſai a un de mes amis qui n'etant point ſuſpect s'approcha de l'enfant qui aſſitoſt qu'il lui eut conferé le ſacrement ſans que l'on s'en apperçut alla jouir du bonheur éternel, dont le père et la mère vouloient le priver.

Le 10 Juin je fis un feſtin à tous les chreſtiens ſelon le coutume, l'on eſt en droit de dire alors tout ce qu'on ueut aux convives ſans qu'ils le trouuent mauvais. Je repprochai à quelques uns que je nommai leur indifférence et leur peu d'aſſiduité aux aſſembleés dans la chapelle pour y ouir les inſtructions. Je leur appris à tous la manière de ſe confeſſer et les liens du mariage chretien, je leur parlai du

of souls. This woman's ill humor did not last long. Soon afterward, she told me that some human consideration had led her to treat me thus. The death of some children who have been baptized causes the Missionary's approach to be viewed with apprehension when he visits the sick; and it is often thought that all is over with them when he administers Baptism to them.

On the 7th of June, a little child — who died shortly after having received baptism without the knowledge of his parents — was the cause of my being exposed to many rebuffs when I sought to approach him. I had omitted nothing that could satisfy his parents, to procure his salvation; but they made me go out when he was about to expire. They told me that man died utterly; and that if the soul lived, as I said it did, men would be seen to come back on earth after their death; that they remembered very well that the sister of the dying child had died after I had baptized her; and, for fear of the same happening to the sick boy if I baptized him, they ordered me to go out of the dwelling at once. Despairing of succeeding in my design, I had recourse to one of my friends; and, as he was not suspected, he approached the child — who, immediately after the sacrament had been administered to him without its being perceived, departed to enjoy eternal happiness, of which the father and mother were trying to deprive him.

On the 10th of June, I gave a feast to all the christians, according to custom. On such occasions, one has a right to say whatever one pleases to the guests, without their feeling hurt by it. I reproached some, whom I named, with their indifference and their want of assiduity in attending the meetings in the chapel to hear the instructions. I explained

bonheur des fidéles et de la grace que Dieu leur avoit faite de les mettre au nombre de ſes enfans adoptés, tandis qu'il regarde avec horreur leurs parens et leurs compatriotes qui ſont autant d'eſclaves du Démon et qui bruleront toujours avec lui dans les Enfers s'ils ne ſe conuertiſſoient: que au reſte leur bon ou mauvais exemple étoit d'un grand poids pour avancer et pour empeſcher la converſion de leur parens. Parce que beaucoup de veillards et d'autres gens mariés perſiſtent encore dans leur infidelité, je me ſuis appliqué le mieux que j'ai pu a faire des inſtructions aux enfans et au Néophytes juſques à leur depart pour l'hyvernement. Entre quantité d'enfans qui s'y ſont trouvés quelques vns ſavent deia fort bien leur catechiſme, la pluſpart des grandes filles ſe confeſſent fort bien et il y en a qui m'ont fait des confeſſions générales de toute leur vie avec une exactitude ſurprennante. Au milieu d'une nation corrompue qui ſe permet toute ſorte de libertinage je trouve une jeune veuve que les parens auoient ſelon la couſtume engagée dans la mariage ſans ſe mettre en peine de ſavoir ſi elle vouloit ſe marier ou non; elle n'eut pas le courage de temoigner a ſes parens l'averſion qu'elle en avoit, mais elle en eut aſſez pour être longtems avec ſon mari ſans changer ſa première reſolution, comme il l'aimoit beaucoup, il ne la quitta point pour en prendre une autre et etant enfin près de mourir il dit aux parens de la femme qu'il la leur rendoit telle qu'ils la lui donnée, il pria ſon frère, qui n'etoit pas encore marié de la vouloir epouſer, l'aſſurant qu'il avoit vecu avec elle comme avec ſa ſœur, mais elle n'y a jamais voulu conſentir quelques inſtances que les parens en ayent

to all of them the manner of confessing, and the bonds of christian marriage; I told them of the blessedness of the faithful, and of the favor that God had done them by placing them among the number of his adopted children. I told them that he looked with horror upon their relatives and countrymen who were so many slaves of the Devil, and would burn with him forever in Hell, unless they became converted; and that, moreover, their good or evil example was of great weight in promoting or preventing the conversion of their relatives. As a good many old men and other married people still persist in their infidelity, I have devoted myself, as well as I have been able, to instructing the children and Neophytes until their departure for winter quarters. Among the great number of children who have attended, some already know their catechism very well; most of the older girls confess themselves very well, and some have made general confessions to me of their whole lives, with astonishing accuracy. In the midst of a corrupt nation which indulges in licentiousness of every kind, I find a young widow whose parents, as is their wont, made her marry without taking the trouble of ascertaining whether she wished to be married or not. She had not the courage to manifest to her parents the aversion that she felt for it; but she had enough to remain a long time with her husband without altering her first resolution. As he loved her dearly, he would not take another wife; and, when at the point of death, he told his wife's parents that he gave her back to them as they had given her to him. He begged his brother, who was unmarried, to marry her — assuring him that he had lived with her as with a sister; but

faites pendant 3 ans, elle deſiroit fort d'etre chrétienne, mais elle n'oſoit point m'en parler, quoiq'elle me le fit dire par ſes compagnes, et qu'elle vint tous les jours à la chapelle depuis 4 ans: je l'ai baptiſée le printems dernier, après m'avoir decouuert avec beaucoup d'ingenuité le fond de ſon ame, je ſuis perſuadé de l'horreur qu'elle a de tout ce qui eſt contraire à la pureté, elle m'a dit franchement que le deſſein qu'elle auoit d'être toujours ſeule, c'eſt à dire de ne pas ſe marier ne venoit que l'averſion qu'elle auoit pour tout ce qu'elle entendoit et voyoit ſe paſſer entre les gens mariés de ſon pays, et qu'elle ne penſoit pas que ſe fut parceque Dieu aime particulierement les Vierges; qu'élle n'auoit pas été inſtruite pour avoir cette penſée; mais que dorenavant elle diroit toujours à Dieu que lui ſeul poſſederoit entierement toutes ſes affections que ſon cœur etoit trop petit et lui trop grand pour le partager. Depuis qu'elle m'a declaré ſes intentions, elle a fait paroiſtre un zèle admirable pour ſe faire inſtruire, et elle ne s'eſt pas dementie juſqu'ici, je tache de l'affermir dans ſa réſolution contre l'inconſtance naturelle de ces ſauvages et de lui perſuader qu'elle ſe doit defier autant d'elle meſme que de ceux avec qui elle eſt obligée de vivre, et qu'autrement elle l'oublieroit bientoſt de s'aquitter des deuoirs de ſon baptême.

Vers le 20e de Juin les François et les ſauvages qui etoient partis d'ici le mois précédent pour aller demander l'alliance des *Oſages* et des *Miſſouris* dans l'eſpérance du grand profit qu'ils tireroient de leur commerce ſont revenus avec deux chefs de l'un et l'autre village, accompagnés de quelques anciens et

she would never consent, notwithstanding the pressing solicitations of her parents during 3 years. She desired greatly to become a christian, but she did not venture to speak to me of it, although she made her companions tell me of it, and came to the chapel daily for 4 years. I baptized her last spring. As she has bared the depths of her soul to me, with much ingenuousness, I am convinced that she has a horror of everything that may be contrary to purity. She told me frankly that the resolution she had taken to live always alone — that is, not to marry — was due to the aversion that she felt for all that she heard and saw done by the married people of her country. She did not think that it was because God specially loves Virgins, and she had not been taught to have that idea; but said that, in future, she would always tell God that he alone fully possessed all her affections — that her heart was too small, and he too great, to divide it. Since she has told me of her intentions she has displayed admirable zeal in seeking to be instructed; and, so far, she has not belied herself. I endeavor to strengthen her in her resolution against the inconstancy that is natural to these savages, and to persuade her that she must be on her guard as much against herself as against those with whom she has to live; and that, otherwise, she would soon neglect to perform the duties imposed on her by her baptism.

About the 20th of June, the French and the savages who had left here during the previous month to seek the alliance of the *Osages* and *Missouris*, in the expectation of the great profits that they would derive from the trade with the latter, came back with two chiefs from each village, accompanied by some

de quelques femmes, quoique ces Marchands ſe ſoucient peu de leur faire connoiſtre Dieu et le Miſſionaire dans tout ce qu'ils entreprennent de conſidérable avec des ſauvages; ils ſont néantmoins tous venus me voir et je leur ai fait à tous le meilleur accueil que j'ai pu je les ai menées à la chapelle et je leur ai parlé comme s'ils m'entendoient bien, ils ſe ſont trouués à la meſſe, et ils y ont été très modeſtes à l'exemple des *Ilinois* qu'ils m'ont entendu pluſieurs fois inſtruire et les faire prier Dieu, ils m'ont temoigné une grande joie de l'eſperance que je leur ai donné de les aller voir pour le donner de l'eſprit. C'eſt ainſi qu'ils parlent, mais étant ſeul je ne puis pas aſſiſter ni viſiter les autres bourgs des *Ilinois* qui ſont ſur le fleuve de Miſſiſſipi. Les *Oſages* et les *Miſſouri* ne me paroiſſent pas ſi ſpirituels que les *Ilinois*, leur langue me ſemble très difficile les premiers ne deſſerent point les dents et les autres parlent encore plus de la gorge que les premiers.

Une jeune homme *Peouareoua*, baptiſé depuis longtems et bien inſtruit qui m'obligea l'année precedente de lui defendre l'entrée de mon logis et de le menacer de le chaſſer de l'egliſe, donna lieu de croire a ſes compatriotes que le chagrin qu'il en avoit, été capable de lui faire dire et faire contre le Chriſtianiſme tout ce qu'on deſireroit de lui. Le chef des *Peouareoua* et de tous les jongleurs avec quelques uns de ſes parens du meſme parti et de plus conſiderables du bourg n'oublierent pas pour aigrir ſon eſprit contre les Néophytes, et contre le Miſſionaire, tu ne nous as pas voulu croire, lui dirent ſes parens tu tes voulu attacher à la Robe Noire et il t'a . . . nous ne te empriſons pas ainſi, nous avons pitié de

elders and some women. Although these Merchants, in all the dealings of any extent that they have with savages, care very little about telling them of God and of the Missionary, the visitors all came, nevertheless, to see me, and I welcomed them as heartily as I could. I took them to the chapel, and talked to them as if they understood me well; they were present at mass, and behaved with great modesty, following the example of the *Ilinois* — whom they heard me instruct on several occasions, and cause to offer prayers to God. They manifested great joy when I led them to hope that I would go to see them, to give them sense — such is the expression that they use. But, as I am alone, I cannot assist or visit the other villages of the *Ilinois*, which are on the banks of the Mississipi river. The *Osages* and the *Missouri* do not appear to be as quick-witted as the *Ilinois;* their language does not seem very difficult. The former do not open their lips, and the latter speak still more from the throat than they.

A young *Peouareoua* man — baptized long ago and well instructed, but who compelled me during the previous year to forbid him entrance to my lodging, and to threaten him with expulsion from the church — led his countrymen to believe that his chagrin would induce him to say and do everything that might be asked from him against Christianity. The chief of the *Peouareoua* and of all the jugglers, with some of his relatives, — of the same party, and among the most notable persons of the village, — omitted nothing to embitter his mind against the Neophytes and against the Missionary. "Thou wouldst not believe us," his relatives said to him; "thou wouldst attach thyself to the Black Gown,

toi et tu auras part à nos feſtines: que les *Kaſkaſkia* prient Dieu s'ils veulent et qu'ils obeiſſent à celui qui les inſtruit; ſommes nous *Kaſkaſkia* et pourquoi lui obeirois tu toi qui eſt *Peouareoua*? puiſqu'il t'a vexé il faut que tu declare publiquement que tu quitte la priére, quelle ne vaut rien; je fairai feſtin dit le chef de *Peouareoua* et j'inviterai tous les vieillards et tous les chefs de parti; tu y ſeras auſſi invité; après avoir parlé de nos médécines et de ce que nous ont enſeigné nos grands peres et nos ayeux cet homme venu de loin a-t-il de meilleurs médécines que nous pour prendre ſes coutumes. Ses Fables ne ſont bonnes qu'en ſon pays, nous avons les notres qui ne nous font pas mourir, commes les siennes. Ces diſcours et autres ſemblables plaiſoient extrêmement à ce libertin nommé Antoine, qui ne peut neantmoins ſoutenir longtems les réproches de ſa conſcience quoique les ennemis de la foi lui peuvent dire pour lui faire renoncer tout a fait au chriſtianiſme, ils l'aſſurerent en vain que j'avois des crapauds dont je faiſois des compoſitions pour empoiſonner les malades: perſuadé du contraire il prit ma defenſe et preſſé du ſalutaire remords de ſa faute, il revint me trouver pour ſe reconcilier avec Dieu. Il m'a raconta alors tout cequi ces charlatans dechainés contre moi avoient fait, et dit pour me rendre odieux à la Nation, et qu'un de ſes jongleurs avoit enveloppé un crapaud vif dans un mechant linge en pluſieurs doubles ou il l'auoit etouffé et ecraſſé afin de s'en ſervir comme d'un poiſon fort préſent, pour me faire perir par le meſme venin, dont je faiſois diſoit il, mourir les Malades lorſque je les approchois par le ſeul ordorat d'un crapaud; tout ceci étoit fondé ſur

and he has . . . thee. We do not thus despise thee; we have pity on thee, and thou shalt have a share in our feasts. Let the *Kaskaskia* pray to God if they wish and let them obey him who has instructed them. Are we *Kaskaskia?* And why shouldst thou obey him, thou who art a *Peouareoua?* Since he has vexed thee, thou must declare publicly that thou abandonest prayer; that it is worthless." "I shall hold a feast," said the *Peouareoua* chief, "and I shall invite all the old men and all the chiefs of bands; thou also wilt be invited. After speaking of our medicines and of what our grandfathers and ancestors have taught us, has this man who has come from afar better medicines than we have, to make us adopt his customs? His Fables are good only in his own country; we have ours, which do not make us die as his do." These discourses and other similar ones gave great pleasure to the libertine, whose name was Antoine; but he could not long withstand the reproaches of his conscience, whatever the enemies of the faith might say to make him completely renounce christianity. In vain they assured him that I had toads, wherewith I compounded poisons for the sick. Convinced as he was of the contrary, he took up my defense; and, impelled by salutary remorse for his sin, he came to me to be reconciled to God. He then related to me all that those charlatans, who were enraged against me, had done and said to make me odious to the Nation. He told me that one of those jugglers had wrapped up a live toad in several folds of ragged linen, in which it had suffocated; and had crushed it, to use it as an active poison, in order to make me perish by the same venom with which, he said, I caused the death of

ce qu'il m'avoit oui dire que je m'étonnois que les enfans maniaſſent auſſi facilement qu'ils faiſoient des crapauds que nous n'oſerions pas toucher ainſi dans notre pays, et qu'un crapaud portoit la mort avec ſoi. Cette empirique s'eleve donc et va prendre au milieu de la cabane ce peloton de vieux haillons, ou il avais enveloppé ſon crapaud, il le decouvre et dit aux vieillards aſſemblés, mes frères vous allez voir que cet Antoine ſe va faire mourir lui meſme, s'il oſe flairer ſeulement ce linge qui ſera cauſe de ſa mort. Que je meure, dit Antoine j'en ſuis content pour faire voir votre malice, je flairerai votre crapaud. On ſe tint dans un grand ſilence, ne doutant pas qu'il ne mourut incontinent: il flaires effectivement a pluſieurs répriſes et porta le crapaud juſqu'a ſon nez: Je ne ſuis pourtant pas mort, dit-il, au Jongleur, tu vas mourir tout a l'heure lui dit-il, il flaire encore le crapaud pluſieurs fois, et reſta dans la cabane plus de deux heures. Le jongleur faché de ne point voir l'effet de ſon poiſon baiſſe la teſte et ne dit plus mot bien honteux et bien ſurpris de ce qu'Antoine ne mourut point, et encore plus de l'ouir dire que ceux qui n'étoient point chrétien ſeroient damnés. Les vieillards ſe retirent en diſant à Antoine, nous ſommes convainçus qu'*Aſſapita* c'eſt le nomme de Jongleur, n'a pas dit vrai, et nous ſommes bien aiſe que vous ne ſoyez pas mort. On a tenu cela bien ſecret, car je n'en ai pas entendu parler et ce jeune homme ne me l'a decouvert que fort long tems après que cela eſt arrivé. Ce Néophyte qui depuis 6 ou 8 ans étoit tout ulceré d'écrouelles et qui ne faiſoit que trainer eſt decedé après s'étre bién confeſſé, et j'ai ſujet d'eſpérer que Dieu lui aura fait

the Sick when I approached them, through the mere smell of a toad. All this was based upon the fact of his having heard me say that I was surprised to see the children handling toads as freely as they did, because we would not touch them thus in our country; and because a toad carried death with it. This empiric rises, therefore, and goes to the middle of the cabin to pick up the bundle of rags in which he has wrapped up his toad; he uncovers it and says to the old men assembled there: "My brothers, you will see that this Antoine will bring about his own death if he merely smells of this cloth, which will be the cause of his decease." "Let me die," said Antoine, "I shall be content to do so to expose your malice; I will smell your toad." All observed profound silence, not doubting that he would at once die. He actually smelled of it several times, and lifted the toad up to his nose. "And still I am not yet dead," he said to the Juggler. "Thou wilt die shortly," the latter replied to him. He again smelled of the toad several times and remained in the cabin for over two hours. The juggler, irritated at seeing his poison without effect, hung his head and said not another word — being quite ashamed and also quite surprised that Antoine did not die, and still more at hearing him say that those who were not christians would be damned. The old men withdrew, saying to Antoine: "We are convinced that *Assapita*" — that is the Juggler's name — "has not told the truth, and we are glad to see that you are not dead." This was kept very secret, for I did not hear it spoken of; and the young man told me of it only long after it had happened. This Neophyte — who for 6 or 8 years was covered with

miſericorde. La maladie a commencé dans ce bourg au mois d'Aout, c'eſt à dire des qu'on a commencé à manger du bled nouveau, des citrouilles et des melons d'eau et autres fruits à demi murs. Il y a eu bien des enfans et des jeunes gens malades et je n'approche pas de tous auſſi facilement que je voudrois. Il y en à qui ſont tellement prevenus par les jongleurs que dans la crainte que je ne leur donne quelque médécine, ils diſent qu'ils ſe portent bien et déſaprouvent mes frequentes viſites, l'on crie contre moi, comme ſi j'etois la cauſe de la maladie et de la mortalité, quoiqu'au reſte il ne meure que trés peu de perſonnes: quelques enfans ſeroient mort ſans le baptême, ſi j'euſſe attendu le conſentement des parens, il faut uſer d'addreſſe dans ces cas, les petites enfans qui meurent me ſcavent bongré lors'quils ſont devant Dieu. Quelques jongleurs ſe declarent ouvertement contre moi, et font tout ce qu'ils peuvent pour decrediter notre religion. Les plus retenus pour ſauver les apparences me ſont quelqu'amitie, tandiſque ſous main ils empechent autant qu'ils peuvent qu'on ſe faſſe inſtruire. Je tache auſſi de mon coté d'entretenir et de cultiver l'eſprit de la foi dans les grandes perſonnes, qui l'on embraſſeé. Les jeune femmes donnent ici beaucoup de vogue à la prière par les inſtructions et par les conférences que je leur fais; il y en a pluſieurs qui ſe confeſſent ſouvent et fort bien et deux jeunes filles de 13 à 14 ans, ont commencé par vne confeſſion générale de toute leur vie, ſi exacte que pour ne rien oublier elles ſe ſont ſervies de petits morceaux de bois comme nous nous ſervons de jettons, et a chaque choſe dont elles s'accuſoient ou qu'elles croyoient étre peché, elles

scrofulous ulcers, and who could barely drag himself about — died after making a good confession, and I have reason to hope that God has had pity on him. Disease broke out in this village in the month of August, — that is, after they began to eat new corn, squashes, watermelons, and other half-ripe fruit. Many children and young people were sick, and I had not as free access to all of them as I would have wished. Some are so prejudiced by the jugglers that, through fear that I may give them medicine, they say that they are quite well and disapprove of my frequent visits. They cry out against me as if I were the cause of the disease, and of the mortality — although, in fact, but few people die. Some children would have died without baptism had I waited for their parents' consent. Strategy must be employed in such cases. The little children who die are grateful to me when they are before God. Some jugglers openly oppose me, and do all they can to cast discredit upon our religion. Those who are more wary show me some politeness, to save appearances, while in an underhand way they do everything in their power to prevent the savages from being instructed. On my part, I also endeavor to maintain and cultivate the spirit of the faith in the adults who have embraced it. The young women here greatly contribute to bring prayer into favor, through the instructions and lectures that I hold for them. There are many who confess frequently and very well; and two young girls from 13 to 14 years of age began by making a general confession of their whole lives — so thoroughly that, in order to forget nothing, they made use of little pieces of wood as we use counters; and, as they mentioned everything of which they accused themselves, or which

laiſſoient tomber une de ces petits morceaux de bois comme les grains d'un chapelet. Un vieillard en fit autant quelques tems après en ſe confeſſant et c'eſt la coutume parmi eux de compter ainſi quand ils ſe defient de leur memoire.

Le chef des *Kaſkaſkia* et ſa femme depuis le mariage de leur fille avec un françois ſe ſont rendus fort aſſidus aux inſtructions et m'ont prié de les diſpoſer au baptême. Leur gendre contraint par les reproches de ſa conſcience a avoué à ſon beaupere et à ſa bellemère que toutes les fables qu'ils avoient raconteés àu desavantages des miſſionnaires n'etoient que des fictions que la médiſance et la calomnie lui avoient fait inventer pour empeſcher les gens d'embraſſer notre ſainte foi, et pour plaire à certains libertins, qui l'avoient gagé débiter des menſonges et m'obliger s'il avoit été poſſible à quitter le pays, afin que je ne fuſſe pas temoin des deſordres de quelques debauchés ainſi qu'ils le deſiroient; mais qu'a préſent qu'il avoit lui meſme pris le parti de ſe faire chrétien, ils refuſeroient tous les preſens, qu'en lui faiſoit pour dire dorénavant du mal de moi enſuite il exhorta ces 2 catechumènes à s'affectionner à la prière et à ſe rendre dociles a mes inſtructions ajoutant que pour n'être pas trompés il falloit s'attacher au miſſionnaire, qui recherchoit que le ſalut de leurs ames, au lieu que les autres françois aimoient la pluſpart de leurs marchandiſes, ſans ſe mettre en peine de les retirer de l'état de damnation, ou ils les voyoient. Ces deux bons ſauvages ont fait de ſi bonnes reflexions ſur tout ce que leur gendre et leur fille leur ont raconté du malheur de ceux qui refuſent mes bons avis, que ſans m'en parler, ils ont agreé

they considered a sin, they dropped one of these small pieces of wood, like the beads of a rosary. An old man did the same, some time afterward, while at confession; and it is a custom among them to count in this manner when they mistrust their memory.

The chief of the *Kaskaskia* and his wife have, ever since the marriage of their daughter with a frenchman, been very assiduous at the instructions, and have begged me to prepare them for baptism.[30] Their son-in-law, forced by the reproaches of his conscience, has admitted to his father- and mother-in-law that all the falsehoods which he had told to discredit the missionaries were but fictions. The desire to slander and calumniate had urged him to fabricate these, to prevent people from embracing our holy faith, and, to please certain libertines who had induced him to spread falsehoods, and compel me, if possible, to leave the country. This they wished me to do, so that I might not witness the evil conduct of some profligates. But this frenchman said that, now that he had resolved to become a christian, he would refuse all the presents that might be given him to speak ill of me in the future. He afterward exhorted the 2 catechumens to be devoted to prayer, and docile to my instructions, adding that, in order not to be deceived they must cling to the missionary whose sole desire was the salvation of their souls; while the other frenchmen chiefly cared for their merchandise, without troubling themselves about rescuing them from the state of damnation in which they saw them. These two worthy savages reflected so seriously on all that their son-in-law and daughter told them respecting the unfortunate condition of those who refuse my good advice that, without speaking to me of it, they agreed that the chief

qu'il fit la declaration publique de la reſolution qu'il avoit priſe de ſe faire chrétien. Pour rendre cette action plus celebre il fit feſtin aux chefs de tous les villages et aux plus conſiderables de *Peouareoua*, tous fameux jongleurs, il renonça ouvertement a toutes leurs ſuperſtitions et les invita par une aſſez longue harangue à ne pas eſtre plus longtems les ennemis de leur propre bonheur en reſiſtant à la grace du chriſtianiſme que Dieu leur offroit par mon miniſtère: il s'etendoit fort au long ſur l'importance du ſalut et ſur les peines que je me donnois de leur procurer, non obſtant toutes les oppoſitions qu'on me faiſoit: tout le monde leur répondit par un *Nikana*, c'eſt à dire, *Mon ami*, qui eſt leur ſigne d'applaudiſſement. C'eſt ce que j'ai appris d'un de ceux qui étoient à ce feſtin, car il ne m'en à nullement parlé; le meſme ſoir ſa femme fit un feſtin à toutes les femmes de ſon bourg pour leur declarer auſſi qu'elle vouloit ſe faire chrétienne. Pour les mieux eprouvér je ne temoignai rien ni à l'vn ni a l'autre de ce que j'avois appris. Ils m'ont preſſé depuis de les baptiſer: ce que je leur ai accordé apres pluſieurs marques qu'ils m'ont donneés de vouloir s'acquitter des devoirs du chriſtianiſme. Pour rendre la ceremonie de leur bapteſme plus utile et plus celebre, j'ai crié dans tout le bourg qu'on aſſiſtat a leur bapteſme; je fus bien aiſe que beaucoup de monde en fut temoin, j'ai profité de cet emploi pour exhorter les autres à les imiter. J'allois dans leurs cabanes leur annoncer le Royaume de Dieu ſans me mettre en peine de ceux qui ſe mocquoient de toutes des inſtances que je faiſois pour les gagner à J. C. et pour leur decouvrir les artifices

should publicly declare the resolution which he had taken to become a christian. To make this act more solemn, he gave a feast to the chiefs of all the villages, and to the most notable among the *Peouareoua*, all famous jugglers; he openly renounced all their superstitions, and urged them in a rather long harangue to be no longer the enemies of their own happiness, by resisting the grace of christianity which God was offering to them through my instrumentality. He dwelt at great length upon the importance of salvation, and upon the trouble that I took to procure it for them, in spite of all the obstacles placed in my way. All replied by exclaiming *Nikana*,—that is to say, "*My friend*"—which is their way of applauding. I learned this from one who was present at the feast, for the chief never spoke to me of it. The same evening, his wife gave a feast to all the women of her village, to inform them also that she intended to become a christian. The better to try them, I let neither of them know what I had learned. From that time, they urged me to baptize them; I granted them that favor after they had given me several proofs of their desire to perform the duties of christians. To make the ceremony of their baptism more profitable and more imposing, I proclaimed throughout the village that all were to be present at their baptism. I was very glad that many witnessed it. I took advantage of the occasion to exhort the others to imitate them. I went into their cabins to preach God's Kingdom to them, without heeding those who scoffed at all my solicitations to win them to Jesus Christ, and to reveal to them the artifices employed by the Devil to deceive them and prevent me from giving

dont le Demon ſe ſervoit pour les tromper et pour empeſcher que je leur donaſſe de l'Eſprit (c'eſt leur manière de parler.) Vn des plus anciens vieillards, zelé pour les anciennes coutumes du pays apprehendant que ſon crédit et celuy de ſes ſemblable ne ſouffrit quelques diminution, ſi on embraſſoit la foi alla criant dans le bourg: vous tous qui avez juſqu'ici ecouté ce que vous à dit la robe noire, venez dans ma cabane; je vous inſtruirai auſſi de ce que j'ai appris de mon grand père et de ce qui nous devons croire, laiſſez aux gens de loin leurs fables et attachons nous a nos traditions.

Le 18 Septembre il mourut un enfant ſans bapteſme par l'opiniatreté des parens qui me rebuterent toujours lorſque je me preſentois pour lui donner ce ſacrement; afinque le malheur de ce petit infortuné fut l'occaſion du ſalut des autres, j'ai crié dans les places du bourg que je deplorois le perte de l'ame de cet enfant qui maudiroit eternellement ſes parens: vous qui avez des enfans mourans qui ne ſont pas encore baptiſés, leur diſai-je ne differez pas à les apporter à la chapelle, ayez pitié d'eux comme j'en ai pitié. Je fus longtems a-parcourir le bourg afin de me faire bien entendre; dés le lendemain j'en baptiſai cinq il y en a deja vn qui eſt dans le ciel Je compte mes peines pour rien ſachant ce que les ames ont couté au ſauveur; par l'entetement et par la reſiſtance des parens, il en eſt parti pluſieurs pour l'hyvernement de ſix mois. A l'occaſion des malades je me ſuis donné beaucoup de mouvement, afin de ne pas manquer de procurer le ciel a ces petits innocens, je ne trouvois du tems pour dire mon breviare que pendant la nuit: avant que la maladie eut couru

them Sense (such is their way of speaking). One of the oldest among the elders — full of zeal for the ancient customs of the country and apprehending that his credit and that of his class would be diminished if their people embraced the faith — went through the village, calling out: "All ye who have hitherto hearkened to what the black gown has said to you, come into my cabin. I shall likewise teach you what I learned from my grandfather, and what we should believe. Leave their myths to the people who come from afar, and let us cling to our own traditions."

On the 18th of September, a child died without baptism through the obstinacy of the parents, who continually repelled me when I presented myself to administer the sacrament. In order that the calamity of that unfortunate little one might be the opportunity for the salvation of the others, I called out everywhere in the village that I deplored the loss of the soul of that child, who would eternally curse its parents. "Ye who have dying children not yet baptized," I said to them, "delay not to bring them to the chapel. Have pity on them, as I have." I walked through the village a long time, in order to be heard by all. On the following day I baptized five, one of whom is already in heaven. I count my trouble as nothing, for I know how much souls have cost the savior. Owing to the obstinacy and resistance of the parents, many have gone away for the six months' wintering. I occupied myself a good deal in behalf of the sick, that I might not fail to send these little innocents to heaven. I could find time to say my breviary only during the night. Before the disease spread through the villages, I was well received everywhere; and the old men told

dans les villages; jetais bien reçu partout, et les vieillards me diſoient que la priere étoit bonne, ils m'exhortoient ſans qu'ils priaſſent eux meſme a faire prier et a bien inſtruire les femmes et les enfans, afin qu'on ne fut pas malade mais dés qué la contagion ſe fut repandue, l'on me regardoit dans la pluſpart des cabanes comme l'oiſeau de la mort et l'on vouloit me faire reſponſable de la maladie et de la mortalité, j'en rejettoit la cauſe avec plus de ſujet ſur la jonglerie, leur faiſant remarquer que la maladie n'avoit commencé que depuis qu'ils avoient jonglé et qu'en deriſion de l'éau benite et de l'aſperſion que je fais les jours de dimanche dans ſa chapelle, ils auoient fait une aſperſion impie dans leur jonglerie publique; que Dieu avoit punis par la mort d'une vieille arriueé peu de jours après qu'elle eut contrefait nos ceremonies, et vne autre par le decès de ſon enfant et que la maladie et la mort etoient entreés dans les cabanes de ceux qui étoient les plus ſuperſtitieux.

Comme il y a toujours ici du monde logé dans les champs à plus d'une lieue du bourg, juſqu'au depart pour l'hyvernement j'ai continué mes petits excurſions depuis le mois de Juillet, juſqu'au 24 ou 25 Septembre. Aprés avoir dit la meſſe et fait la priere de grand matin, j'allais alternativement viſiter ceux qui étoient dans leurs champs de bled et de citrouilles. A vne lieue du bourg il y a vn petit village ſur vn coteau dont le pied eſt baigné d'une rivière qui fait vn payſage très agréable à la vue, j'y aſſemblois ceux et celles qui s'y trouvoient et afin que les autres qui étoient dans les champs fuſſent informés de ma venue, je criai comme j'avois

me that prayer was a good thing. Without themselves praying, they exhorted me to make the women and children pray well, and to instruct them, so that no disease might break out; but, when the contagion spread, I was looked upon in most of the cabins as the bird of death; and people sought to hold me responsible for the disease and the mortality. I attributed the cause thereof with greater reason to jugglery, and pointed out to them that the disease had commenced only since they had practiced those ceremonies, and — in mockery of the holy water, and of the sprinkling with it that I performed every sunday in the chapel — had performed an impious sprinkling in their public jugglery. I reminded them that God had inflicted punishment by the death of an old woman, a few days after she had imitated our ceremonies; that he had punished another by the death of her child; and that disease and death had entered the cabins of all the most superstitious.

As there are always people here who dwell amid the fields, at a distance of more than a league from the village, until they depart for their winter quarters, I continued my short excursions from the month of July to the 24th or 25th of September. After saying mass and prayers very early in the morning, I went to visit alternately those who were in their corn and squash fields. At a distance of a league from the village is a small one, on a hill whose base is bathed by a river, constituting a landscape very agreeable to the sight. I gathered together those who were there; and in order to inform those who were in the fields of my arrival, I called out, as I was in the habit of doing in the village, that all were to come to prayer. I said the

coutume de faire dans le bourg qu'on vint à la prière. Je la faiſois dans la cabane du plus conſiderable du lieu qui etoit jongleur de profeſſion mais qui ne laiſſoit pas de paroiſtre avoir beaucoup de zèle pour qu'on vint honorer et aſſiſter au cathechiſme deux fois la ſemaine. Quelques vns ſe ſcandaliſérent que j'entrois chez ces hommes qui toutes les nuits, diſait-on, etailloit les Manitous dans la cabane et y chantoit à leur honneur juſqu'au jour et qu'en leur manière il avoit fait un feſtin fort ſuperſtitieux. En effet y étant allé un jour qu'on ne m'y attendoit pas je vis 3 ou 4 depouilles de ſerpents pendues auec quelques plumes peints et quelques peaux de diuers petits oiſeaux ſort beau, je ne fis pas ſemblant d'avoir rien vu, je declamai cependant fortement contré la jonglerie et contre ces genies imaginaires qui n'ont ni corps ni ame; Ils ne parurent plus depuis ce tems la, mais peu de jours après je vis un petit chien pendu au bout d'une perche piquée en terre, je n'avais rien vu de pareil depuis que je ſuis parmi les Ilinois, j'en fus ſurpris n'ayant encore été convaincu par aucune experience qu'ils faſſent des ſacrifices a leurs Manitȣs ou qu'ils leurs pendent ainſi des chiens ou autres beſtes pour faire ceſſer les maladies. Tout ce qu'ils ont coutume de faire eſt que dans leur feſtins, ils diſent; mon Manitȣ, je te prepare ou je te donne a manger, mais les cuiſiniers mangent tout et l'on ne préſente rien n'y l'on ne met rien a part pour le Manitȣ. Je demandois ce que ſignifioit ce petit chien qu'on avoit pendu à cette perche l'on me dit qu'il etoit mort de Maladie et que pour empeſcher que les enfans ne le touchaſſent ils l'avoient mis en un lieu qu'ils ne puſſent y atteindre, un vieillard qui

prayers in the cabin of the most notable man in the village,— a juggler by profession, who nevertheless manifested a very zealous desire that his people should honor and attend catechism twice a week. Some were scandalized at my entering the dwelling of this man, who was reported to exhibit the Manitous in the cabin every night, and to sing in their honor until daylight; and who had, according to their custom, given a very superstitious feast. In fact, having gone there one day when I was not expected, I saw 3 or 4 serpent-skins hung up, with some painted feathers, and the skins of various very pretty small birds. I pretended not to have seen anything; I strongly inveighed against jugglery, and against those imaginary spirits that have neither body nor soul. They did not make their appearance after that; but, a few days afterward, I saw a little dog suspended at the end of a pole stuck into the ground. I had never seen anything of the kind since I had been among the Ilinois. I was astonished, for I was not yet convinced by actual experience that they offered sacrifices to their Manitous, or that they thus hung up dogs or other animals to stay diseases. All that they are in the habit of doing consists in saying at their feasts: "My Manitou, I prepare for thee, or I give thee, food." But the cooks eat everything, and offer nothing, or put nothing aside for the Manitou. I asked what was meant by the little dog hanging on the pole. I was told that it had died of a Disease; and that, to prevent the children from touching it, it had been put where they could not reach it. An old man, who saw very well that I was not satisfied with this explanation, told me that it was to appease the lightning,

vit bien que je ne me contentois pas de cela, me dit que c'étoit pour appaiſer le tonnerre, parce que l'un de ſes enfans avoit éte malade le jour qui auoit beaucoup tonné. Après avoir montré l'inutilité de cette ſuperſtition en préſence de bien des gens, j'arrachai de terre la perche et la jettai avec le chien dans les herbes et je continuai ma viſite, car après avoir fait prier Dieu, je viſitai de tems en tems tous ceux qui avoient leurs champs dans ce canton la; ma promenade étoit toujours de trois bonnes lieues, en fort beau chemin et qui me ſembloient courtes a cauſe des poſes que je faiſois en diuers endroits ou je m'arretois.

Tout le monde partit pour l'hyvernement le 26 Septembre à la reſerve de quelques vieilles qui reſterent dans 14 ou 15 cabanes et d'vn aſſez bon nombre de *Kaſkaſkia*. Quelque diligence que j'aye faite pour que l'on n'embarquaſſe pas les petits enfants malades ſans avoir reçu le bapteſme, il m'en eſt échappe quelques uns que les parens n'ont pas voulu me permettre de baptiſer, j'en ai pourſuivi d'autres juſqu'a l'embarquement afin de tacher de leur donner leur viatique pour l'êternité, bien m'en prit de ne mettre pas rebuté des railleries que les parens et toutes les femmes qui etoient preſque à s'embarquer firent de mes inquietudes, car Dieu recompenſa mes peines par le ſalut de pluſieurs de ces petits innocens. Le chef des *Peouareoua* étonné de me voir au bord de l'eau, demanda ce que je faiſois la et ſi j'attendois la mère d'un enfant malade: [je] lui répondis en raillant que je voulois baptiſer ſon enfant, ſur quoi il ſe mit à faire quelques plaiſanteries: ne vous etonnez pas, lui dis ie, et à ceux qui

because one of his children had been ill on a day when there had been a great deal of lightning. After pointing out, in the presence of many persons, the uselessness of this superstition, I pulled the pole out of the ground and flung it, with the dog, upon the grass, and continued my visits; for, after making the savages pray to God, I visited from time to time all whose fields were in that quarter. My walk always covered fully three leagues, over a very good road; and the distance seemed short to me, owing to the stay that I made at the various places where I halted.

All the people left for their winter quarters on the 26th of September, excepting some old women, who remained in 14 or 15 cabins, and a considerable number of *Kaskaskia*. Notwithstanding all the trouble I took to prevent the sick children from being embarked without receiving baptism, some escaped me whose parents would not allow me to baptize them. I followed others as far as the place of embarkation, to endeavor to give them their viaticum for eternity. I did right in not allowing myself to be repelled by the railleries with which the parents and all the women, who were on the point of embarking, treated my anxiety; for God rewarded my efforts with the salvation of several of these little innocents. The chief of the *Peouareoua*, who was surprised to see me at the water's edge, asked me what I was doing there, and whether I was waiting for the mother of a sick child. I replied jestingly that I wished to baptize his child, on which he began to joke. "Be not surprised," I said to him and to those who were present, "if I have been standing here so long. I am much more surprised that no pity is shown to the children, who are and

étoient préſent s'il y a ſi longtems que ie me tiens ici debout; je m'etonne bien plus de ce qu'on n'a pas pitié des enfans qui ſont et ſeront eſclaves du démon s'ils meurent ſans bapteſme. Quoique cette raiſon ne leur ſoit pas evidente pour ſe defaire de mes importunités on a ſouffert que i'en ai ondoyé pluſieurs. J'avoue que je n'ai pas été ſi ſcrupuleux cette annee pour les bapteſmes des petits enfants malades, que je l'ai été les autres précédentes; je leur ai donné à inſçu de leurs parens, n'ayant pas cru devoir toujours attendre leur conſentement a cauſe qu'ils etoient moins touchés du bonheur ou du malheur eternel de leurs enfans malades que de la fauſſe crainte qu'ils avoient que le bapteſme ne les fit mourir, car c'eſt ce que tachent de perſuader les ennemis de la foi, que le bapteſme fait mourir les enfans et c'eſt le reproche qu'on me fait ſouvent dans les pluſpart des cabanes; quand je leur parle de la neceſſité de ſalut, j'ai ſouvent de la peine à perſuader a vne mère dont le premier enfant baptiſé eſt mort de faire baptiſer le ſecond, ou le 3e., il eſt bon de ne pas ſe rebuter, et il y a bien des femmes qui pour ne pas me voir ſouvent dans leur logis, ou je m'informe de la ſanté de leurs enfans me les ont apportes à l'egliſe pour les faire baptiſer et quoique j'aye trouué cette annee plus de réſiſtance dans la plus grande part des parens que les années précédentes pour les bapteſme de leurs enfans nouueaux nés j'en ai neanmoins beaucoup plus baptiſés que l'année paſſée dont quantite ſon bien-heureux, et prient maintenant pour le converſion de leurs parens. Comme dans ces commencemens je ne puis preſque rien gagner ſur l'eſprit des vieillards, des pères et

who will be the slaves of the devil, if they die without baptism." Although this reason was not an obvious one to them, to rid themselves of my importunities I was permitted to baptize several privately. I confess that I have not been so scrupulous this year with reference to the baptism of sick little children as I was in previous years. I have administered it to them without the knowledge of their parents, and have not always thought best to await their consent; because they were affected less by the eternal happiness or misfortune of their sick children than by their erroneous dread that baptism would cause their death. For the enemies of the faith strive to convince them that baptism causes the children to die; and this is the reproach that is frequently addressed to me in most of the cabins, when I speak to them of the necessity of salvation. I often experience great difficulty in persuading a mother whose first baptized child has died, to allow me to baptize the second or the 3rd. One must not be discouraged, and there are many women who, in order not to see me often in their dwellings, where I inquire about the health of their children, have brought them to me in the church to have them baptized. Although this year I met with more resistance from the majority of the parents than in previous years, regarding the baptism of their new-born children, I have nevertheless baptized many more than last year,— many of whom now enjoy eternal happiness, and pray for their parents' conversion. As in these beginnings I can produce hardly any effect on the minds of the old people, the fathers and mothers, I endeavor to put into practice the advice given by St. Francis Xavier with respect to their children.

des mères, je tache de practiquer le conſeil de S. François Xavier à l'egard de leurs enfans, *nam ut grandiores et parentes celeſti beatitudine excidunt eorum quidem iſti liberi ac pueri fruentur qui prius hujus lucis uſuram quam baptiſmalem innocentiam amittent.*

C'eſt ce que dit ce grand ſerviteur de Dieu de ceux de la coſte de la Pécherie. Quoiqu'il y ait déſia dans cette miſſion naiſſante beaucoup d'adultes baptiſés l'inconſtance de tous ces ſauvages et la corruption eſt ſi grande parmi les peuples du midi qu'il y a plus ſujet de craindre pour les *Ilinois* que St. F. X. n'avoit de craindre pour les Indiens de l'Orient, *paucos ad Cœlum pervenire niſi eos qui quatuordecim annis minores cum baptiſmali innocentia excedunt.* Au reſte quoique je ne confere pas toutes les cérémonies du bapteſme des adultes aux filles au deſſous de 19 ans, je n'en baptiſerai aucune au deſſus de 6 ou 7 ans qui ne fache les prieres et qui ne ſoit auſſi bien inſtruite que les adultes et a qui je ne faſſe faire tous les actes neceſſaires avant que de les baptiſer. Il n'y en a pas vne qui eut vn peu de connaiſſance qui ne ſache que Dieu defend à celles qui ſe marient d'epouſer vn homme qui a deja vne femme et la dernière fille d'enuiron 19 ans que j'ai baptiſée avant le depart pour l'hyvernement n'a recues le bapteſme qu'après que ſon père qui eſt le nouveau chef des *Peouareoua*, m'a aſſuré qu'il ne la marieroit pas a un homme qui le ſeroit deja.

Quoique parmi ces peuples il y ait beaucoup de corruption, après tout le nombre de fille nubiles et de nouvelles mariées qui ſe conſervent dans l'innocence eſt beaucoup plus grand que de celles qui ſont dans le . . . et la ferveur de celle qui eſt mariée

Nam ut grandiores et parentes celesti beatitudine excidunt, eorum quidem isti liberi ac pueri fruentur qui prius hujus lucis usuram quam baptismalem innocentiam amittent.

That is what this great servant of God says of those on the coast of la Pécherie [land of sin?]. Although there are already many baptized adults in this nascent mission, the inconstancy of all these savages and the corruption among all these southern tribes are so great that there is more to fear for the *Ilinois* than St. Francis Xavier had to dread in the case of the Indians of the East,—*paucos ad Cœlum pervenire nisi eos qui quatuordecim annis minores cum baptismali innocentia excedunt.* Moreover, although I do not confer all the rites of the baptism of adults on girls under 19 years of age, I will not baptize one above 6 or 7 who knows not the prayers, and who is not as well instructed as the adults, and whom I do not cause to make all the necessary acts before administering baptism. There has not been one with a little knowledge who did not know that God forbids those who marry to espouse a man who already has a wife; and the last girl, about 19 years of age, whom I baptized previous to their departure for winter quarters, received baptism only after her father, who is the new chief of the *Peouareoua*, had assured me that he would not marry her to any man who already had a wife.

Although there is a great deal of corruption among these tribes, after all, the number of nubile girls and of newly-married women who retain their innocence is much greater than those in the . . . and the fervor of her who is married to Sieur Ako has nothing of the savage in it, so thoroughly is she imbued with the spirit of God. She tells me

au Sieur Ako n'a rien de ſauvage, elle eſt tellement remplie de l'eſprit de Dieu, et me decouvre les penſées et les hauts ſentimens quelle en a avec tant d'ingenuité que je ne ſaurois aſſez remercier Dieu de ſe communiquer ſi abondamment à vne jeune ſauvage au milieu d'vne nation infidele et corrompue. Il fallut bien lui livrer des combats pour la faire conſentir au mariage car comme elle étoit dans le deſſein de ne ſe marier jamais pour etre toute à J. C. elle repondit à ſon père et a ſa mère qui me l'amenerent en compagnie du françois qu'ils vouloient avoir pour gendre qu'elle ne vouloit pas ſe marier: qu'elle auoit deja donné tout ſon cœur a Dieu et quelle ne vouloit pas le partager, ce ſont ces propres paroles qui n'avoient pas encore été ouies dans cette barbarie, auſſi ſes paroles furent elles mal reçues et comme je dis franchement que ces ſentimens n'étoient pas ſauvages et qu'il n'y avoit que Dieu qui les lui put inſpirer. Son père, ſa mère et encore plus le françois qui la recherchoit en mariage ſe perſuaderent que c'étoit moy, qui la faiſois parler ainſi. Je leur dis que Dieu ne lui ordonnoit pas de ſe marier, mais auſſi qu'on ne pouuoit pas l'y contraindre, qu'elle etoit ſeule la maitreſſe de faire l'un ou l'autre pour craindre d'offenſer Dieu. Elle ne me repondit rien, ni a toutes les inſtances ni a toutes les menaces de ſon père et de ſa mère qui ſortant tous chagrins ne penſerent plus qu'a faire éclater leur colère contre moi, s'imaginant que c'étoit moi qui defendois a leur fille de donner ſon conſentement.

Comme je faiſois le cri dans le bourg pour venir à la prière, le père m'arreta en paſſant par devant ſa cabane et me dit que puiſque j'empechois ſa fille de

the thoughts and the elevated sentiments that she has regarding God,— with such ingenuousness that I cannot sufficiently thank God for revealing himself so intimately to a young savage in the midst of an infidel and corrupt nation. Many struggles were needed before she could be induced to consent to the marriage, for she had resolved never to marry, in order that she might belong wholly to Jesus Christ. She answered her father and mother, when they brought her to me in company with the frenchman whom they wished to have for a son-in-law, that she did not wish to marry; that she had already given all her heart to God, and did not wish to share it. Such were her very words, which had never yet been heard in this barbarism. Consequently her language was received with displeasure; and — as I frankly stated that such sentiments were not those of a savage, and that God alone could have inspired her with them — her father, her mother, and still more the frenchman who wished to marry her, were convinced that it was I who made her speak thus. I told them that God did not command her not to marry, but also that she could not be forced to do so; that she alone was mistress to do either the one or the other, in the fear of offending God. She made no answer either to all the entreaties or to all the threats of her father and mother, who went away quite chagrined, and thinking of nothing but venting their anger against me,— imagining that it was I who prevented their daughter from giving her consent.

As I went through the village calling the savages to prayers, the father stopped me when I passed before his cabin, and told me that, inasmuch as I was preventing his daughter from obeying him, he

lui obeir il empecheroit auſſi d'aller à la chapelle et en meſme tems ſortit de ſon logis criant et ſe dechainant contre moy et fermé le paſſage a ceux qui me ſuivoient. Une partie de *Kaſkaſkia* ne laiſſerent pas de venir à la chapelle, comme les *Peouareoua*, faiſant le tour du four [*sc.* bourg] pour ſe derober à ſa vue. Il venoit de chaſſer ſa fille de ſa maiſon après lui avoir oté ſon juſtaucorps, ſes bas et ſes ſouliers et ſes petits ornemens, ſans qu'elle dit un ſeul mot, ni verſer une ſeule larme. Mais quand il voulut lui oter ce qui l'a couvroit. Ah! mon père que voulez-vous faire lui dit-elle, laiſſez moi, c'en eſt aſſez je ne vous donnerai pas ce qui me reſte, vous m'oterez la vie plutoſt que de me l'arracher; ſon père s'arreſte tout court et ſans lui dire un ſeul mot, la chaſſe hors de ſa maiſon: n'oſant paroiſtre en cet état elle s'alla cacher dans les herbes au bord de l'eau, ou un vieillard catechumene qui venoit à la chapelle la trouvant lui jetta ſon juſtaucorps, dont elle ſe couvrit et vint auſſitoſt à la chapelle, repondit à toutes les prières et au chant avec les autres, comme s'il ne lui etoit rien arrivé. Elle m'attendit après la prière je l'exhortai d'avoir bon courage et de faire preciſement ce que Dieu lui inſpireroit ſans rien craindre. Je la fis conduire à la derobée dans la maiſon de celui qui l'avoit couverte de ſon juſtaucorps.

Dès la meſme nuit ſon père aſſembla les chefs des quatre villages et leur dit que puiſque j'empechois que les françois s'alliaſſent a eux, ajoutant cent autres fauſſetés à ce qu'il avoit dit, il les conjuroit d'empecher que les femmes et les enfans n'allaſſent à la chapelle. Il ne lui fut pas difficile de perſuader ce qu'il voulut a des gens qui d'eux meſmes ne

would also prevent her from going to the chapel; at the same time he came out of his cabin, rating me and inveighing against me, and barring the way to those who followed me. A portion of the *Kaskaskia* nevertheless came to the chapel, and so did the *Peouareoua*, who went round the village to escape his sight. He had just driven his daughter out of the house after depriving her of her upper garment, her stockings, her shoes, and her petty ornaments, without a single word of remonstrance or a single tear from her. But, when he wished to take away what covered her, she said: "Ah! my father, what are you trying to do? Leave me; that is enough. I will not give you the rest; you may take my life rather than deprive me of it." Her father stopped short and, without saying a word, drove her from his house. Not wishing to be seen in that plight, she hid herself in the grass on the water's edge, where an old man — a catechumen, who was going to the chapel — found her, and threw her his jerkin. She covered herself with it, and at once came to the chapel, where she responded to all the prayers and chants with the others, as if nothing had happened to her. She waited for me after prayers, when I exhorted her to have courage and to do precisely whatever God inspired her, without fearing anything. I had her taken secretly to the house of the savage who had covered her with his jerkin.

That very night her father gathered the chiefs of the four villages together, and told them that, since I prevented the french from forming alliances with them,— and adding a number of other falsehoods to what he said,— he earnestly begged them to stop the women and children from coming to the chapel.

ſont encore guere portés pour le Chriſtianiſme, les defenſes et les menaces n'empecherent pas qu'ils ne l'y trouvat le lendemain 50 perſonnes du village des *Peouareoua*, et quelques *Kaſkaſkia* auſſi bien que cette fille qui s'expoſoit a étre maltraités ſi ſon père l'eut rencontrée, il envoya un eſpion pour voir ſi quelqu'un entroit dans la chapelle et ſurpris de voir tant de monde fit crier dans le village qu'il etoit étrange qu'on n'obeit pas aux chefs, puiſque malgré leur defenſe beaucoup de gens etoient entrés dans la chapelle, ainſi qu'on ne fut pas ſurpris s'il maltraitoit ceux qui s'opiniatroient a y vouloir venir. Celles qui gouvernent les jeunes femmes et les grandes filles de *Peouareoua* me dirent qu'elles viendroient le ſoir a la prière et que je ne fiſſe pas de cris dans le bourg, je leur repondis que ſi j'y manquois je ferois croire que je craignois les defenſes et les menaces qu'on avoit faites, que ceux qui avoient du courage m'obeiroient, elles vinrent en effet d'elles meſme le ſoir à la chapelle mais je ne laiſſai pas de faire le cri a mon ordinaire. On me repond de diverſes cabanes que je ceſſaſſe de faire l'invitation et que perſonne n'iroit prier Dieu à la chapelle puiſque les chefs le defendoient, que perſonne ne ſorte de ſon logis, diſoit-on, l'on vous defend de prier. Criez bien haut me dit un autre, qui eſt ce qui vous obeira: en effet perſonne n'en ſortit et il n'y eut que quelques petites filles qui faiſant un grand tour pour eviter ceux qui bouchoient les paſſages, ſe vinrent joindre à celles qui m'attendoient à la porte de la chapelle. La fille du chef des *Kaſkaſkia* y vint auſſi et il ne ſe trouva en tout que 30 perſonnes. A peine eus je commencé à chanter la *Veni Creator*, qu'une

He experienced no difficulty in making people who are themselves still but little inclined to Christianity believe all he wished. The prohibitions and threats did not prevent there being 50 persons present on the following day from the village of the *Peouareoua*, with some *Kaskaskia* — as well as the girl, who exposed herself to ill treatment, had her father met her. He sent a spy to see whether any persons entered the chapel; and, being surprised to find so many people there, he caused to be proclaimed in the village that it was strange that the chiefs were not obeyed, since, notwithstanding their prohibition, many people had entered the chapel: that therefore they must not be surprised if he ill-treated those who persisted in going there. Those who govern the young women and the grown girls of *Peouareoua* told me that they would come to prayers in the evening, and that I was not to announce them in the village. I replied that, if I failed to do so, I would lead the savages to believe that I feared the prohibitions and the threats that had been made; and that those who had courage would obey me. They came, in fact, of their own accord to the chapel in the evening; but I nevertheless made the usual announcement. I was told from various cabins to cease my call, and that no one would go to the chapel to pray to God, because the chiefs forbade it. "Let no one go forth from the lodges," they said; "you are forbidden to pray." "Call out very loudly," another said to me; "who will obey you?" In fact, no one came out; and there were only some little girls present who made a long detour to avoid those who barred the way, and came to join those who awaited me at the door of the chapel. The daughter of the chief of the *Kaskaskia* came also, and there were only 30

homme d'environ 45 ans entra dans la chapelle, le caſſe-teſte à la main, diſant d'un ton menaçant, n'avez vous pas entendu la défenſe des chefs, obeiſſez leur et ſortez vite; il en prend une par le bras pour le faire ſortir; mais elle tint bon, je m'en fus droit a lui, ſors toimeſme lui dis je, et reſpecte la maiſon de Dieu. Les chefs leur defendent de prier, me repondit-il; et Dieu le leur commande, lui dis je, tais toi et ſors, je ne m'attendois pas qu'il me donnat le temps de lui dire, ce que je lui dis, enſuite je m'en retourne au marche pied de l'autel ou je continuai la prière, il en prit encore une par le bras pour la faire ſortir, vous n'obeiſſez pas leur dit-il; prends garde de ne pas facher le maitre que nous ſervons ici, lui criai-je, retire toi et nous laiſſe prier Dieu, et vous qui honorez le Seigneur du ciel et de la terre, ne craignez pas, il eſt avec vous, et il vous garde. Il reſte encore quelques temps ſans parler, et voyant qu'il ne gagnoit rien, il ſe retira avec un autre vieillard qui l'avoit ſuivi: je louai les aſſiſtantes d'avoir tenu bon et d'avoir fait perdre courage à ces émiſſaires du Démon, qui jaloux de ce qu'on commence à invoquer Dieu dans ce pays, a excité cette petite perſécution; mais ne vous en etonnez pas, elle ne durera pas longtems, Dieu ne la permet que pour éprouver votre conſtance.

Je cru qu'il ne falloit pas ſe taire après un telle inſulte faite à Dieu. J'allai trouver le commandant du fort qui en triomphoit; il me répondit en m'inſultant que je m'etois attiré tout cela par mon opiniatrèté à ne vouloir pas permettre que cette fille dont j'ai parlé ci deſſus ſe mariât avec le François qui étoit lors avec lui, et que s'il vouloit la marier il le feroit

persons in all. Hardly had I begun to chant the *Veni Creator* when a man about 45 years of age entered the chapel, with a club in his hand, saying in a threatening tone: "Have you not heard the chiefs' prohibition? Obey them, and go out quickly." He seized one by the arm, to make her go out; but she remained firm. I went straight to him, and said: "Go out thyself and respect the house of God." "The chiefs forbid them to pray," he replied. "And God commands them to do so," I said. "Be silent and go out." I did not expect that he would give me time to say to him all that I did. I afterward returned to the altar-step, where I continued the prayer. He took another by the arm, to make her go out. "You obey not," he said to them. "Take care not to offend the master whom we serve here," I called out to him; "withdraw, and leave us to pray to God. And you who honor the Lord of heaven and of earth, fear not; he is with you, and he guards you." He remained some time longer, without saying a word; and, seeing that he gained nothing, he withdrew with another old man, who had followed him. I praised all present for having been firm, and for having caused the Devil's emissaries to lose courage; for he it was who, out of jealousy because the savages in this country are beginning to pray to God, had been the cause of this petty persecution. "But you must not be frightened; it will not last long, God permits it solely to test your constancy."

I thought that I should not remain silent after so great an insult had been offered to God. I went to the commandant of the fort who gloated over it. He answered in an insulting manner that I had drawn all this upon myself, through my stubbornness in

malgré moy: il en vint après pluſieurs reproches aſſez injurieux à me charger de mille calumnies en préſence des François, et d'un grand nombre de ſauuages qui s'aſſemblèrent près le fort pour l'ouir invectiver contre moy d'une manière pleine de mépris et emportée. Dieu me fit la grace de receuoir toutes ces humiliations avec vn eſprit aſſez tranquille ce me ſemble. Pour ne pas faire croire aux ſauvages que nous nous querellions, je ne répondis preſque rien à toutes les injures qu'il me dit, et je n'elevois un peu la voix que lorſque je crûs que je devois ſoutenir la gloire et la culte de Dieu, et comme je voulois toujours revenir a l'inſulte qu'on avoit fait dans la chapelle dont je demandois quelque eſpêce de ſatisfaction et qu'on fit avec les chefs des ſauvages ce qu'il falloit faire de peur que quelqu'autre n'en voulut faire autant ou davantage; il me dit froidement qu'il parleroit aux chefs, et au lieu de les aſſembler ſur le champ, il attendit au lendemain après midi, encore falloit-il que j'y retournaſſe.

Il ſe contenta par toute ſatisfaction de m'envoyer dire que les chefs aſſuroient qu'il n'avoient pas dit à cet homme de faire inſulte à la chapelle, il ne tint pas a lui que le meſme ſauvage ne commit encore la meſme inſolence, car lorſqu'on s'aſſembla pour crier la meſſe, un grand orage de pluie etant ſurvenu, il s'imagina qu'on ne viendroit pas à la chapelle; mais ayant veu le contraire il n'eut le loiſir de ſe préſenter lorſqu'on en ſortoit, n'ayant pas aſſez de ſoin de cacher ſon caſſe-tête, qui paraiſſoit ſous ſes habits. Pendant ces 2 jours le chef des *Kaſkaſkia* n'oublia rien pour tirer le conſentement de ſa fille par les careſſes, et par les menaces, il ajouta les promeſſes

not allowing the girl of whom I have spoken above to marry the Frenchman, who was then with him; and that, if he wished to marry her, he would do so in spite of me. After several very insulting reproaches, he went so far as to utter a great many calumnies against me, in the presence of the French and of a large number of savages, who gathered near the fort to hear him inveigh against me in a most contemptuous and angry manner. God granted me the grace to bear all these humiliations in a quite tranquil state of mind, it seems to me. In order that the savages might not think that we were quarreling, I replied hardly a word to all the insults that he uttered; and I raised my voice a little merely when I considered that I should maintain the glory and worship of God, and because I always desired to revert to the insult that had been offered in the chapel. For that I demanded satisfaction of some kind, and that whatever was necessary should be done with regard to the chiefs of the savages, lest some other might seek to do as much, or more. He replied coldly that he would speak to the chiefs; but, instead of assembling them at once, he waited until the afternoon of the following day, and even then I had to return to him for the purpose.

For all satisfaction, he contented himself with sending me word that the chiefs asserted that they had not told that man to offer the insult in the chapel; and it was not due to him that the same savage was not again guilty of the same insolence. For, when we assembled to call to mass, a heavy shower fell, and he imagined that they would not come to the chapel. But, when he found out the contrary and came there, he was only in time to meet them as they came out; and he was not careful

qui furent que ſi elle ne lui obeiſſoit pas, elle éprouveroit toute ſorte de rigueurs de ſa part, qu'abſolument on ne prieroit plus Dieu, qu'il iroit à la guerre et qu'elle ne le reverroit plus; elle me vint trouver, m'aſſura que Dieu la fortifioit et qu'elle étoit toujours dans le deſſein de conſacrer à Dieu la virginité qu'elle avoit pleuré pendant 2 jours de cette conſpiration contre la prière, dont ſon père étoit l'auteur: qu'elle craignoit ſon père ne devint plus furieux et qu'il ne ſe portat a quelqu'extremité. Toutes les menaces qu'on me fait ne me font aucune peine, me dit-elle, et j'ai le cœur content, mais je crains pour le parole de Dieu, car je connois mon père et ma mère; ne craignez point lui dis-je, la prière eſt l'hommage de Dieu. Mon père m'a fait pitié, me dit-elle, et j'ai une penſée me dit-elle, je ne fais ſi elle eſt bonne, je crois que ſi je conſens au mariage, il vous écoutera veritablement, et il y portera tout le monde; je déſire de plaire à Dieu me dit elle, et c'eſt pour cela que j'ai deſſein d'être toujours comme je ſuis, pour être agréable a J. C. ſeul, mais j'ai penſé de conſentir contre mon inclination pour l'amour de lui au mariage, eſt ce bien fait? Ce ſont tous les termes, et je ne fais que changer l'Ilinois en François. Ma fille lui dis je, Dieu ne vous defend pas le mariage, et je ne vous dis pas: Mariez vous ou ne vous mariez pas: ſi vous n'y conſentez que pour l'amour de Dieu, et que vous croyez, qu'en vous mariant, vous gagnerez à Dieu votre famille, cette penſée eſt bonne, mais il faut que vous déclariez à vos parents que ce ne ſont pas leur menaces, qui vous font conſentir au mariage. Elle prit ce dernier parti. Comme l'on continuoit fortement les pourſuites; elle dit à ſa mère, i'ai pitié

enough to hide his club which showed beneath his clothes. During those 2 days the chief of the *Kaskaskia* made every effort to obtain his daughter's consent, by dint of caresses and of threats. He assured her that, if she obeyed him not, she would be treated most rigorously by him; that assuredly prayers would no longer be said to God; that he would go to war, and that she would see him no more. She came to me, and assured me that God strengthened her; that she was still resolved to consecrate her virginity to God; that she had wept for 2 days on account of this conspiracy against prayer, of which her father was the instigator; and that she feared that her father would become still more furious and proceed to extremities. "All the threats against me trouble me not," she said, "and my heart is content. But I fear for God's word, because I know my father and my mother." "Fear not," I said to her, "prayer is the homage paid to God." "My father has had pity on me," she said, "and I have an idea—I know not whether it is a good one. I think that, if I consent to the marriage, he will listen to you in earnest, and will induce all to do so. I wish to please God, and for that reason I intend to be always as I am in order to please Jesus Christ alone. But I thought of consenting against my inclination to the marriage, through love for him. Is that right?" These are all her own words and I merely translate her Ilinois into French. "My daughter," I said to her, "God does not forbid you to marry; neither do I say to you: 'Marry or do not marry.' If you consent solely through love for God, and if you believe that by marrying you will win your family to God, the thought is a good one. But you must declare to your parents that it is

de mon père je n'ai aucun reſſentiment de la maniere dont il me traitée, ie ne crains point ſes menaces; mais je crois que je lui accorderai ce qu'il me demande parceque je crois que vous et lui m'accorderez ce que ie vous demanderai. Enfin ayant dit à ſon père qu'elle conſentoit au mariage, le père, la mère et le François, me vinrent trouver, comme elle étoit dans la chapelle, pour ſavoir d'elle ſi ſon père diſoit, vraie, elle repondit tout haut, je hais celui la en montrant le François, parcequ'il parle toujours mal de mon père, la robe noire, et qu'il ment diſant que c'eſt lui qui m'empeſche de me marier; puis elle m'a dit tout bas, ce n'eſt pas par la crainte que j'ai de mon père qui me force de conſentir au mariage, vous ſavez pourquoi j'y conſens, le François et le père ſe retirerent bien contents pour ſe diſpoſer aux préparatifs du mariage; mais avant que de le conclure entierement, je voulus que le père fit aſſembler dans la cabanne tous les chefs des villages et qu'il deſavoua tout ce qu'il avoit dit, puiſque tout étoit faux et qu'il temoigna ſon repentir de la défenſe qu'il leur avoit fait de prier Dieu, et qu'il en fit quelque ſatisfaction à laquelle ie voulu me trouver.

Il conſentit à tout cela, et le fit de la manière le plus ſoumiſe et la plus humiliante qu'on puiſſe l'imaginer me ſuppliant par pluſieurs fois de lui pardonner ſon ivrognerie, c'eſt à dire, ſon entetement, m'apoſtrophant a tous momens en faiſant l'eloge de la priere. Je n'ai iamais eu la penſée de la quitter, dit il aux aſſiſtans, et quand je vous ai dit, d'arreter pendant quelques jours ceux et celles qui y venoient, c'etoient ruſe, quand je vous l'ai dit: je vous prie de

not their threats that make you consent to the marriage." She came to the latter decision. As the urgent solicitations continued, she said to her mother: "I pity my father. I feel no resentment against him for his treatment of me, and I fear not his threats. But I think that I shall grant his request, because I believe that you and he will grant me what I ask." Finally, she told her father that she consented to the marriage; the father, the mother, and the Frenchman came to me while she was in the chapel to ascertain whether what her father said was true. She replied aloud: "I hate him," pointing to the Frenchman, "because he always speaks ill of my father, the black gown; and he lies when he says that it is he who prevents me from marrying." Then in a low tone she said to me: "It is not fear of my father that compels me to consent to the marriage. You know why I consent." The Frenchman, and the father withdrew, well satisfied to make the preparations for the marriage. But, before concluding it entirely, I wished the father to gather all the chiefs of the villages in his cabin, and retract all that he had said, because it was all untrue; to express his regret for having forbidden them to pray to God; and to tender some satisfaction, at which I wished to be present.

He consented to all this, and did so, in the most submissive and humiliated manner that can be imagined. He begged me several times to forgive him his drunkenness,—that is, his obstinacy,—addressing me at every moment, and eulogizing prayer. "I never intended to abandon it," he said to those who were present, "even when I told you to stop for a few days those who were going to pray;

tout mon pouvoir d'obeir maintenant à la robe noire, qui eſt votre veritable père qui vous aime effectivement et qui ne nous trompe point. Prenez courage mes frères exhortez tout le monde a lui obeir et a le faire inſtruire et quand it fait le cri pour aller prier Dieu que tout le monde y aille. Il en dit tant, et s'humilia ſi bas que quelque réſolution que j'euſſe pris de lui bien dire les verités en vne ſi grande aſſemblée, je me contentois de lui dire que comme ie croyois qu'il parlait du cœur que je voulais bien oublier tout ce qu'il avait fait et que ie priois Dieu de lui pardonner; mais qu'il ſe ſouvint et tous ceux qui m'ecoutoient, que ceux qui s'attaquoient à la priere, ſeroient eux meſmes. Qu'au reſte tout ce qu'il leur avoit dit dans ſon chagrin touchant les mariages des François étoient faux et de l'invention de quelques François ſcandaleux et que les robes noires étoient les temoins d'un veritable mariage, et à qui ſeuls Dieu a ordonné de prier tous ceux qui voudront ſe marier et ils ſeront veritablement mariés.

En ſortant de cette aſſemblée tous les anciens firent le cri dans le bourg pour venir a la prière, et je crois que tout le village, femmes, filles et enfants et les vieillards meſmes s'aſſemblèrent autour de la chapelle, mais ie ne l'ouvris à perſonne pour leur faire connoiſtre qu'il n'y avait que moi qui gouvernoit la prière, comme je l'avois dit dans l'aſſemblée, et qu'elle ne dependoit pas du caprice des hommes que puiſque je n'avois pas fait de cri, et que je n'avois nommé perſonne pour le faire en ma place, il n'y avoit point de prière ce jour la, comme l'on ne ſavoit pas pourquoi ie n'ouvrois pas la porte de la chapelle,

it was a trick, when I told you to do it. I beg you, as urgently as I can, to obey now the black gown, your true father, who really loves you, and who does not deceive you. Take courage, my brothers; exhort all to obey him and to be instructed, and when he calls out the summons to pray to God, let every one go." He said so much, and abased himself to such a degree, that — although I had resolved to tell him all that I thought of him, before so large an assembly — I contented myself with saying that, as I believed that he spoke from the bottom of his heart, I was willing to overlook all that he had done and I prayed God to forgive him; but that he and all who listened to me must remember that all who attacked prayer would be acting precisely as this man had done. Moreover, that all that he had said to them, in his chagrin, with reference to the marriages of the French was false, and was the invention of some scandal-loving Frenchmen; that the black gowns were the witnesses of true marriage; and that to them alone God had given orders to pray for all who wished to marry, and they would be truly married.

On leaving this assembly, all the elders called out the summons to prayers throughout the village; and I think that the whole of it — women, girls, children, and even the old men — gathered around the chapel. But I would not open it to any one, in order to show them that I alone governed prayer, as I had told them at the assembly, and that it depended not on men's caprice; that, since I had not announced it, or appointed any one to do so in my stead, there would be no prayer that day. As no one knew the reason why I did not open the door of

tout le monde attendit longtems, ils ſe retirerent enfin les vns après les autres ne ſachant que penſer. Le commandant du fort ne manqua pas de me blamer et dit aux ſauvages que puiſque ie n'ouvrois pas la porte de la chapelle, il ne falloit pas prier Dieu que ie n'avois qu'a m'en aller. Le chef de *Kaſkaſkia*, croyant que j'étois faché et craignant de m'avoir dit quelque choſe en s'excuſant qui m'auroit choqué, m'envoya le François ſon gendre futur, pour ſavoir de moi ce qui en étoit; ie lui repondis que i'étois content de la ſatisfaction publique qu'il avoit faite, mais que ie ne regardois pas comme des gens qui vouluſſent prier ceux qui venoient à la chapelle à la voix des vieillards mais à la mienne et que comme i'avois fait deux fois le cri dans le bourg ſans qu'on m'obeit et qu'on fut venu à la chapelle à la derobée, ie ferois auſſi deux jours ſans faire le cri, en effet ie ne reçu le lendemain a la chapelle que celles qui avoient été conſtantes, et je ne fis le cri que le ſoir. Comme la chapelle etoit preſque pleine ie leur expliquois ce que c'etoit que d'etre chreſtien ou d'avoir veritablement envi de l'etre, que ceux qui craignoient plus les hommes que Dieu ne l'etoient pas, etc . . .

Après que le chef des *Kaſkiaſkia* fut aſſuré du conſentement de ſa fille pour ſe marier au François dont i'ai parlé ci deſſus, il declara à tous les chefs des villages, par des grandes préſents qu'il alloit s'allier avec un François; la fille pour s'y mieux diſpoſer fit ſa prem^re^ communion le jour de l'Aſſumption de N. D. a laquelle elle ſe preparoit dépuis plus de 3 mois avec tant de ferveur qu'elle paraiſſoit toute penetrée de ce grand myſtére. Il eſt à croire que J. C. l'enrichit de bien de grâces dans ſa premiere

the chapel, they all waited for a long time, and finally withdrew, one after another, not knowing what to think. The commandant of the fort failed not to blame me; and told the savages that, since I did not open the door of the chapel, they need not pray to God, and I had only to go away. The chief of the *Kaskaskia*, who thought that I was angry, and who feared that in excusing himself he might have said something to offend me, sent the Frenchman, his future son-in-law, to me to know what was the matter. I replied that I was content with the public satisfaction he had given; but that I did not consider as persons desirous of praying those who came to the chapel at the call of the old men, but those who came at mine; and that, as I had called out the summons twice in the village without being obeyed, and as people came to the chapel only by stealth, I would therefore wait two days before I summoned them. In fact, I received in the chapel on the following day only those women who had been constant; and I did not summon them until evening. As the chapel was nearly full, I explained what it meant to be a christian, or to truly desire to be one; that they who feared men more than God were not Christians, etc. . . .

After the chief of the *Kaskiaskia* had obtained his daughter's consent to the marriage with the Frenchman of whom I have spoken above, he informed all the chiefs of the villages, by considerable presents, that he was about to be allied to a Frenchman. The better to prepare herself for it, the girl made her first communion on the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady; she had prepared herself for it during more than 3 months — with such fervor, that she seemed

viſite, et j'ai vu ſenſiblement dans cette fille l'effet d'une bonne communion: comme elle n'avait pas oublié ce que j'avois dit de St. Henry le jour de ſa fête et de Ste. Cunegonde ſa femme, elle eſpera de pouvoir perſuader la meſme choſe à celui avec qui elle devoit ſe marier, il n'eſt pas croyable les priéres qu'elle fit a Dieu pour cela: je la laiſſai dans cette eſpérance, étant d'ailleurs bien inſtruite des obligations du mariage, et de tout ce à quoi elle s'engageoit: Son mari m'a dit qu'elle lui parla d'une maniére ſi tendre et ſi perſuaſive qu'il ne put pas s'empecher dans être touché, et qu'il etoit tout confus d'eſtre moins vertueux qu'elle. Elle a pris pour ſes patronnes particulières les Dames chretiennes qui ſe ſont ſanctifiées dans la mariage, ſavoir Ste. Paule, Ste. Françoiſe, Ste. Marguerite, Ste. Eliſabeth, et Ste. Brigitte, qu'elle invoque pluſieurs fois le jour et leur dit des choſes qu'on ne croiroit pas d'une jeune ſauvage. La premiére conqueſte qu'elle fit a Dieu fut de gagner ſon mari qui a était fameux en ce pays des *Ilinois* par toutes ces debauchés: il eſt tout changé, et il m'a avoué qu'il ne ſe reconnoiſſoit plus lui meſme et qu'il ne peut attribuer ſa converſion qu'aux priéres de ſa femme, aux exhortations qu'elle lui fait, et à l'exemple qu'elle lui donne: Et comment pouvoir reſiſter m'a t'il dit ſouvent à tout ce qu'elle me dit, je ſuis honteux qu'un enfant ſauvage inſtruit depuis peu de temps en ſache plus que moi qui ſuis né et élevé dans le chriſtianiſme, et qu'elle me parle de l'amour de Dieu, avec une douceur et une tendreſſe à faire pleurer les plus inſenſibles et mon experience m'aſſure qu'elle me dit vrai qui n'y a point de ioie que pour les gens de bien. Juſqu'ici

fully penetrated by that great mystery. We may believe that Jesus Christ enriched her with many graces on the occasion of his first visit, and I observed in this girl the manifest effects of a good communion. As she had not forgotten what I had said of St. Henry on the day of his feast, and of St. Cunegonde, his wife, she hoped to persuade him whom she was about to marry to do the same. The number of prayers she said to God with that object is incredible. I left her in that hope, for I had moreover fully instructed her regarding the obligations of marriage, and everything to which she pledged herself. Her husband has told me that she spoke to him in so tender and persuasive a manner that he could not avoid being touched by it, and that he was quite ashamed of being less virtuous than she. She has taken for her special patronesses the christian Ladies who have sanctified themselves in the state of matrimony,—namely, St. Paula, St. Frances, St. Margaret, St. Elizabeth, and St. Bridget, whom she invokes many times during the day saying things to them that one would not believe from a young savage. The first conquest she made for God was to win her husband, who was famous in this *Ilinois* country for all his debaucheries. He is now quite changed, and he has admitted to me that he no longer recognizes himself, and can attribute his conversion solely to his wife's prayers and exhortations, and to the example that she gives him. "And how can I resist," he has often told me; "all that she says to me? I am ashamed that a savage child, who has but recently been instructed, should know more than I who have been born and brought up in christianity, and that she should speak to me of the love

ie n'ai iamais été content i'ai toujours eu la conſcience agitée de mille remords, pourſuivit il, et j'ai tant d'horreur de ma vie paſſée que j'eſpère qu'aidé de la grace de Dieu perſonne ne me fera changer jamais la réſolution que j'ai priſe de bien viure à l'avenir. Pour lui faire expier ſes fautes paſſées, Dieu l'a permis de deplaire a quelques perſonnes qui lui ont ſuſcités de méchantes affaires et qui le rendent odieux à tout le monde. Sa femme eſt toute ſa conſolation par les ſeuls diſcours qu'elle lui tient: Qu'importe, lui dit elle, que tout le monde ſoit contre nous. Si nous aimons Dieu et qu'il nous aime il nous eſt advantageux de payer tandiſque nous vivons le mal que nous avons fait ſur la terre afin qu'après notre mort Dieu nous faſſe miſéricorde.

M'ayant oui dire que quantité de chreſtiens pénetrés du regret de leur faute et de leur douleur d'avoir crucifie J. C. par leurs pechés exercent de Stes cruautés au lieu de ſe traiter avec delicateſſe, comme font quelques vns, elle ſe fit une ceinture d'epines qu'elle porta deux jours entiers, dont elle ſe ſeroit extropiée, ſi m'ayant fait ſavoir cette mortification, je ne l'euſſe obligée d'en uſer avec plus de modération qu'elle ne faiſoit; elle a de ſi tendres ſentimens pour J. C. ſouffrant qu'elle m'a avoué qu'elle pleuroit ſouvent en regardant Jeſus couronné d'epines qu'elle a dans une eſpèce d'appartement qu'elle s'eſt pratiquée. Je prends plaiſir à lui faire dire ce qu'elle penſe de Dieu et les ſentiments qu'elle en a. En verité il n'y a que Dieu qui les lui puiſſe inſpirer lui meſme: quand je penſe, dit-elle, a l'aveuglement des *Ilinois* de ne pas adorer, et de ne pas aimer un Dieu ſi grand il m'en afflige ſouvent; lui ayant demandé ſi elle

of God with a gentleness and tenderness capable of making the most insensible weep; and my experience convinces me that she tells the truth when she says that there is no joy except for those who are good. Hitherto, I have never been satisfied; my conscience has always been troubled with a great many causes for remorse," he continued, "and I have such a horror of my past life that I hope, with the assistance of God's grace, that no one will ever be able to make me abandon the resolution I have undertaken to lead a good life in future." To make him expiate his past offenses, God permitted that he should displease some persons who have stirred up ugly transactions of his, and have made him odious to every one. His wife is all his consolation, through what she says to him. "What matters it, if all the world be against us?" she says. "If we love God, and he loves us, it is an advantage to us to atone during our lives for the evil that we have done on earth, so that God may have mercy on us after we die."

Having heard me say that many christians, penetrated with regret for their offenses and with sorrow for having crucified Jesus Christ by their sins, practice Holy severities upon themselves, she — instead of treating herself tenderly, as some do — made for herself a girdle of thorns. This she wore for two whole days, and she would have crippled herself with it, had she not informed me of this mortification, when I compelled her to use it with more moderation. She has such tenderness for Jesus Christ suffering that she has admitted to me that she often weeps while gazing at Jesus crowned with thorns, — a picture of whom she keeps in a sort of apartment that she has made for herself. I take

l'aimoit veritablement, elle me répondit en ſoupirant qu'elle etoit honteuſe de ne le pas aimer autant qu'elle le devroit. Il eſt grand, ſon amour pour nous eſt grand et je ſuis ſi petite, et mon amour pour lui eſt ſi petit, du moins je ſouhaite de l'aimer beaucoup etc . . . je lui demandai une autre fois ſi elle aimoit la Ste. V. et ce qu'elle lui diſoit. Ie ne ſais ſi je fais mal de l'appeller *ma mère*, me répondit elle, je la prie par tous les termes de tendreſſe de me vouloir bien adopter pour ſa fille; que ferois je ſi je ne l'avois pas pour mère, et ſi elle ne me regardoit comme ſa fille? ſuis-je capable de me conduire? je ne ſuis encore qu'un enfant, et je ſais pas encore prier: je la ſupplie de m'apprendre comment je dois dire afin qu'elle me défende contre le Démon qui m'attaque de tous cotés, et qui me feroit tomber ſi je n'avois recours a elle, et ſi elle ne me recevoit pas entre ſes bras, comme une bonne mère qui reçoit ſon enfant qui a peur; elle me dit auſſi fort ingenuement qu'elle la prioit de ne pas ſe facher de ce qu'elle portoit ſon beau nom de Marie, qu'elle ſe reſſouvenoit toujours en diſant ſon chapelet de ſupplier ſon cher fils Jeſus notre Capitaine, qu'elle ne gataſt pas ſon St. nom qu'elle portoit, n'y qu'il ne ſe facha pas s'il l'appeloit ſa mère. Non, lui dis-je, elle ne ſe fache pas de ce que vous l'appeliez votre mère, continuez a lui parler ainſi, elle vous écoutera volontiers, et elle vous regardera comme ſa fille, tandiſque vous aimerez bien ſon fils. Cette bonne fille à un ſoin admirable pour faire baptiſer les enfans et les jeunes filles de ſon bourg et c'eſt lui faire un ſenſible plaiſir de la choiſir pour Marraine, elle apporte elle meſme les enfants de ſes parents d'abord qu'ils ſont nès afin,

pleasure in making her say what she thinks of God, and the sentiments she feels toward him. In truth, God alone can inspire her with them. "When I think," she said, "of the blindness of the *Ilinois* in not adoring or loving so great a God, I am often afflicted at it." When I asked her whether she truly loved him, she replied with sighs that she was ashamed not to love him as she should. "He is great, and his love for us is great; I am so insignificant, and my love for him is so small. But at least I desire to love him much," etc. . . . On another occasion I asked her whether she loved the Blessed Virgin, and what she said to her. "I know not whether I do wrong in calling her *my mother*," she replied; "I pray to her with every endearing term, to be pleased to adopt me as her daughter. What should I do were she not my mother, and did she not look upon me as her daughter? Am I capable of guiding myself? I am still but a child, and know not yet how to pray. I beg her to teach me what I should say to her, that she may protect me against the Demon — who assails me on all sides, and would cause me to fall had I not recourse to her, and did she not receive me in her arms, as a good mother receives her frightened child." She also told me, very ingenuously, that she begged her not to be angry at her for bearing her beautiful name of Mary; that she always remembered, while saying her rosary, to pray to Our Lady's beloved son Jesus, our Captain, that she might not sully the Holy name that she bore, and that he might not be angry at her for calling Our Lady her mother. "No," I said to her, "she is not angry because you call her mother. Continue to speak thus to her; she will cheerfully

dit-elle, qu'ils ceſſent promptement d'être les eſclaves du Diable et qu'ils deviennent enfants de Dieu, et quand elle apprend qu'un enfant baptiſé eſt mort, elle s'en rejouit et le prie d'interceder pour elle et pour tout le bourg auprès de Dieu: elle attire le plus qu'elle peut chez elle les grandes filles, et les jeunes femmes baptiſée pour les inſtruire et pour leur inſpirer de l'horreur des danſes, des aſſemblées de nuit et de toute ſorte de mal et pour les inſtruire ſur la confeſſion, elle m'en amène de temps en temps pour la faire confeſſer, et me vient dire quelque fois toute affligée, je n'ai rien pu gagner ſur vne telle, elle craint la confeſſion, tachez de lui parler vous meſme, me dit elle, et m'avertit de toutes choſes qu'elle découvre adroitement. Sa ſageſſe et ſa vertu lui donne une authorité merveilleuſe ſur toutes choſes a qui elle parle de la priere, ſans qu'aucune femme meſme agée, temoigne trouver mauvaiſe qu'elle les reprenne quelquefois plus fortement que je ne ferois moimeſme que n'a-t-elle pas fait, pour porter ſon père et ſa mère à ſe faire chretiens. Elle a ſouvent joint les larmes à ſes prières et depuis leur bapteſme elle ne ceſſe de les faire reſſouvenir de ce qu'ils ont promis a Dieu, l'on ne peut s'imaginer tout ce qu'elle dit à ſa mère pour la porter a pardonner ſon oncle, frère de ſa mère la mort d'une de ſes eſclaves qu'il a cruellement maſſacrée pour ſe venger de quelques chagrins qu'il avait reçu autre fois de ſa ſœur. Le père et la mère de cette bonne chrétienne étant ſortis enſemble, la femme armée auſſi bien que le mari pour aſſaſſiner le meurtrier, elle fit ſi bien par ſa diligence, qu'elle détourna le coup, et les empecha d'executer leur deſſein; la mère

listen to you, and will look upon you as her daughter so long as you really love her son." This good girl displays admirable care in getting the children and young girls of her village baptized, and it gives her great pleasure to be chosen as Godmother. She herself brings the children of her relatives, as soon as they are born — in order, as she says, that they may at once cease to be slaves of the Devil, and become children of God. And when she learns that a child who has been baptized is dead, she rejoices at this, and begs it to intercede with God for her, and for the whole village. The grown girls and the young women who have been baptized she induces, whenever she can, to come to her home, that she may instruct them; and she tries to inspire them with horror for dances, for night assemblies, and for evil of all kinds, and to instruct them regarding confession. From time to time, she brings me one that I may confess her; and occasionally she comes to me, quite disconsolate, to say: "I have not been able to persuade such a one; she dreads confession. Try to speak to her yourself," she says to me; and informs me of all kinds of things that she adroitly discovers. Her discretion and virtue give her marvelous authority, especially over those to whom she speaks of prayer without even any aged women finding fault with her — reproving them sometimes more energetically than I myself would do. What efforts did she not make to induce her father and mother to become christians! She frequently added tears to her entreaties; and, since their baptism, she ceases not to remind them of the promises that they made to God. It is impossible to imagine all that she said to her mother to induce her to forgive her uncle, her

penſa mourir de chagrin de ne s'etre pas vengée ſur ce que ſon dépit alla ſi loin qu'elle ne ſe trouvoit plus a l'egliſe. Sa fille prie la liberté de l'en reprendre; j'irai, dit-elle, a l'egliſe ſi l'on me venge, Dieu reprit ſa fille défend la vengeance et veut que la punition lui ſoit reſervée. Qu'il faſſe donc mourir mon frère, dit la mère, et je ſerai bonne chretienne, s'il ne le tue pas je ne ceſſerois de chercher les moyens de le faire périr. Oh vous offenſez Dieu, lui répondit ſa fille en pleurant. Après que ce grand feu fut un peu ralentit, elle ne ceſſa point de lui repreſenter le ſcandale qu'elle avoit donné à notre nouvelle égliſe, elle la porta à ſe confeſſer et ſa conſtance a eſſayer tous les rebuts et toutes les duretés de ſa mère, l'emporta; ſur ſon obſtination, un jour entendant ſon père qui ſe plaignoit a ſon mari de l'ingratitude des François pour qui il s'etoit tant de fois ſacrifice et a qui il avoit rendu de bons offices, et il dit vrai, car ſans lui les François auraient été maſſacrés ici, et que les François qui avaient temoigné le plus d'amitié, ne le regardoient ſeulement pas depuis qu'il etoit chretien que bien loin que le commandant lui témoigna de la joie de ce qu'il avoit rompu tous les obſtacles a ſon baptême, il le mépriſoit à preſent, qu'il ne ſavoit que penſer a dire de ſon procedé ſinon que les François aimoient mieux qu'il menaſt une vie de ſauvage que de chreſtien, et qu'ils le regardoient comme un laſche de ne s'eſtre pas vengé de ſon beau frère etc . . . La fille qui etoit plus pres de lui qu'il ne croyoit, fort de ſon petit appartement lui dit d'une manière ſi engageante tout ce qu'une fille qui aime tendrement ſon père peut lui alleguer pour moderer ſes chagrins; elle lui parla

mother's brother, for the death of one of her slaves — whom he cruelly killed, out of revenge for some slight vexation formerly caused him by his sister. The father and mother of this good christian had gone out together, the wife being armed as well as the husband, to kill the murderer; but the efforts of this girl succeeded so well that she diverted the blow, and prevented them from executing their design. The mother nearly died from chagrin at not having revenged herself, and she carried her spite so far as to come no longer to church. Her daughter took the liberty of reproving her for this. "I shall go to the church," she said, "if I am revenged." "God," replied her daughter, "forbids revenge, and wills that punishment be left to him." "Then let him make my brother die," said the mother, "and I will be a good christian. If he does not kill him, I will not cease to seek means to destroy him." "Oh, you offend God," her daughter replied with tears. After this great rage had softened to some extent, she ceased not to represent to her the scandal that she had given to our new church, and urged her to go to confession; and her constancy in enduring all her mother's rebuffs and hard words overcame the latter's obstinacy. One day she heard her father complaining to her husband of the ingratitude of the French, for whom he had made so many sacrifices, and to whom he had rendered good service — and he spoke truly, for without him the French would have been massacred here. He said that the French who had displayed the greatest friendship toward him would not even look at him since he was a christian; that the commandant, far from manifesting pleasure because he

enſuite à l'oreille et ſe retira dans ſon cabinet, ſon mari qui la ſuivit de près la trouva à ſon oratoire baignée de ſes larmes au pied du crucifix, ce qui lui fit croire que ſon père lui avoit dit quelque dureté, n'en pouvant tirer aucune parole, il me vint prier de ſavoir d'elle le ſujet de ſes pleurs; elle me dit que craignant que le Diable ne fit tomber ſon père et ne reveillat dans ſon cœur le deſir de ſe venger, elle avoit demandé a Dieu de la fortifier et de lui inſpirer ce qu'elle diroit a ſon père, et qu'en meſme temps qu'elle ſortit de ſon cabinet, quelque répugnance qu'elle ſentit en elle meſme elle lui avoit dit mon père, vous parlez mal, le Diable veut vous faire tomber, allez de grâce vous confeſſer, afin qu'on vous remette l'eſprit, et que votre ame reprenne la première beauté qu'elle avoit reçue au bapteſme et que ſon père lui repondit *Nikana* qui eſt un mot d'amitie et d'approbation. Je me retirai auſſitoſt à mon oratoire pour en remercier Dieu dit-elle et le prier de toucher le cœur de mon père. En effet dés le meſme ſoir a 4 heures de nuit, il vint me trouver avec ſa femme pour ſe confeſſer, comme je ne m'attendois a rien moins pour ne rien précipiter après lui auoir rappelé le ſouvenir de ce que je lui auois dit du ſacrement de la pénitence dans l'inſtruction qui avoit précédé leur bapteſme, je les remis au lendemain et leur dit de venir que l'un après l'autre ce qu'ils firent, leur fille en eut tant de joie que des le meſme jour elle alla trouver ſon père et ſa mère ſeparament pour s'en rejouir avec l'un et l'autre, et pour les encourager à ſe conſerver dans la grace de Dieu. Dés le mois de Sept^bre^ je lui avois fait un ordre du jour pour regler toutes ſes prieres et ſes occupations depuis

had overcome all the obstacles to his baptism, now despised him; that he knew not what to think or say of such conduct, unless it were that the French preferred to see him lead the life of a savage rather than that of a christian; and that they considered him a coward because he had not revenged himself upon his brother-in-law, etc. . . . The daughter, who was nearer him than he thought, came out of her little apartment, and, in a most winning manner, said everything to him that a daughter who dearly loves her father can say to allay his sorrow. She afterward whispered in his ear, and withdrew into her room. Her husband, who followed her closely, found her in her oratory, her eyes filled with tears, at the foot of the crucifix. This led him to believe that her father had spoken harshly to her. Being unable to obtain a word from her, he asked me to find out the cause of her affliction. She told me that she feared that the Devil would cause her father to fall, and arouse a desire for revenge in his heart; so she had asked God to strengthen her and to inspire her with what she should say to her father. At the same time, she had come out of her room and notwithstanding the repugnance she felt, she had even said to him: "My father, you speak ill. The Devil wishes to make you sin; pray go to confession, that your mind may be soothed and your soul may resume the original beauty given to it by baptism." Her father had replied to her *Nikana*, which is an expression of friendship and approval. "I withdrew at once to my oratory to thank God," she said, "and to entreat him to touch my father's heart." In fact, on the very same day at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, he came

ſon reveil juſqu'au ſoir. Je fus extrémement ſurpris qu'elle me répétât dés le lendemain tout ce que je lui avois expliqué fort au long juſqu'a moindre oraiſon mot a mot, comme je lui avois dit: d'en eſt de meſme pour tout ce qu'elle entend de la vie de N. S. et des ſaints ce que je trouve de meilleur en elle, eſt la grande defiance et peu d'eſtime qu'elle a d'elle meſme, et la prière la plus ordre c'eſt de dire. Mon Dieu je ſuis encore enfant, je ſuis foible ſi vous ceſſez de me ſoutenir: le Diable me trompera et me fera tomber.

Vu qu'après le depart des Ilinois pour l'hyvernement, il ne reſtoit que quelques cabanes de *Kaſkaſkia*, ou ils y avoit pluſieurs enfants, je m'appliquai particuliérement à leur faire le catéchiſme. Ie choiſis ſa maiſon pour les y aſſembler; eſperant contenter ſon zéle de la charge du ſoin de les inſtruire; j'ai eu le plaiſir de me tenir aux écoutes, pendant qu'elle les interrogeoit à bien répondre tous les enfants du bourg ſont toujours bien venus dans la maiſon, et ils s'y plaiſent lui ayant demandé pourquoi elle déſiroit ſi fort d'inſtruire les enfants, elle me répondit que c'etoit parceque Dieu les aimoit particuliérement que leurs ames avoient encore la beauté qu'elles avoient reçue au baptême, et qu'ils ne connoiſſent pas encore le mal; ce fut aſſez de lui temoigner qu'outre la priére que je fais aux aſſiſtans dans la chapelle tous les ſoirs, il ſeroit bon qu'elle la fit dans la maiſon pour toute la famille avant de ſe coucher, et à laquelle il était auſſi apropos qu'elle y invitât quelques perſonnes des autres cabanes, afin que toutes enſemble la prière et l'examen le fit, comme il ſe pratique dans les familles Françoiſes et

to me with his wife to confess,—which I had expected. In order not to be precipitate,—after reminding them of what I had said to them respecting the sacrament of penance, in the instruction that had preceded their baptism,—I put them off to the following day, and told them to come one after the other, which they did. Their daughter was so pleased at this that, on the very same day, she went to her father and mother separately to rejoice with both of them, and to encourage them to maintain themselves in God's grace. In the month of September, I had drawn up for her a daily order to regulate her prayers and occupations, from the hour of rising until night. I was exceedingly surprised on the following day on hearing her repeat all that I had explained to her at great length, even to the shortest prayer, and word for word as I had told her. It is the same as regards everything that she hears about the life of Our Lord and the lives of the saints. That which I most approve in her is the great distrust and the little esteem that she has for herself. Her most frequent prayer consists in saying: "My God, I am still but a child; I am weak. If you cease to sustain me, the Devil will deceive me and make me fall into sin."

Inasmuch as, after the departure of the Ilinois to their winter quarters, there remained only some cabins of *Kaskaskia* in which were several children, I applied myself especially to having them taught the catechism. I chose her house wherein to gather them together, hoping to satisfy her zeal by charging her with the duty of teaching them. I had the pleasure of listening while she questioned them, to see if they answered well. All the children of the

ſauvages bien réglées; dés le mois d'Octobre, elle n'y a pas manqué après le ſouper.

Depuis que les *Kaſkaſkia* ſont revenus de la chaſſe il y a tant de gens qui en ſortant de la prière viennent tous enſemble au catechiſme qui s'eſt fait dans mon logis tout l'hyver a cauſe qu'il fait trop froid dans la chapelle qu'il n'y a pas eu de place pour tout le monde: comme elle le faiſoit auſſi bien que moy pendant le jour aux enfants, il s'en trouva peu pendant le mois d'Octobre et de Novembre aux conferences et inſtructions que je leur faiſois. I'expliquai aux grandes perſonnes tout le Nouveau Teſtament que j'ai en tailles douces qui repréſentent parfaitement bien ce qui eſt marqué dans chaque page. Au commencement il n'y avoit qu'elle, ſon mari qui eſt un François, ſon père, ſa mère et tous ceux de ſa cabanne qui ſe trouvaſſent a l'explication des images que je faiſois pendant un heure et demie; mais la curioſité de voir les images pluſtot que d'entendre l'explication que j'en faiſois y a attire bien du monde.

Cette jeune femme agée ſeulement de 17 ans a ſi bien retenu ce que j'ai dit ſur chaque image de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Teſtament qu'elle les explique chacune en particulier ſans ſe troubler et ſans rien confondre, auſſi bien que je pourrois faire et meſme plus intelligiblement a leur manière: à la verité, je lui ai permis d'emporter chaque image après l'avoir expliqué en public pour s'en refraichir la memoire en particulier, mais ſouvent ſur le champ elle me répétoit tout ce que j'avois dit ſur chaque image, et non ſeulement elle les expliquoit chez elle, à ſon mari, à ſon père et à ſa mère et à toutes les filles qui

village are welcome in her house, and they take pleasure in going there. When I asked her why she was so desirous of teaching the children, she replied that it was because God specially loved them; that their souls still retained the beauty that they had received in baptism; and that as yet they knew not evil. I had but to tell her that, in addition to the prayers that I say every evening with those who are present in the chapel, it would be good to say them in the house for the whole family, before retiring. I told her that it was also advisable to invite some persons from the other cabins to come at that time, so that the prayers might be said and the examination of conscience be made together,—as is done in well-regulated French and savage families; and from the month of October she never failed to do so after supper.

Since the *Kaskaskia* have returned from hunting, so many people come after prayers all together to catechism — which is taught throughout the winter in my lodge, because it is too cold in the chapel — that there is not enough room for all. As she taught it as well as I, during the day, to the children, there were but few during the months of October and November at the conferences and instructions that I gave them. To the adults I explained the whole of the New Testament, of which I have copper-plate engravings representing perfectly what is related on each page. At the beginning she herself, her husband, who is a Frenchman, her father, her mother, and those of her cabin were the only persons present at the explanation that I gave of these pictures during an hour and a half; but curiosity to see the pictures, rather than to hear the explanations that I gave, attracted a great many.

venoient chez elle, ce qu'elle continue de faire, ne parlant que des images ou de catechiſme; mais auſſi elle a expliqué les images ſur tout l'Ancien Teſtament aux vieillards et aux jeunes gens que ſon père faiſoit aſſembler chez lui.

Après avoir employé le mois d'Octobre à l'explication des images, je continue de les aſſembler après ſouper dans mon logis pour leur faire le catechiſme. Deux raiſons m'ont porté à le faire le ſoir au commencement de la nuit, 1° afin qu'il s'y trouva plus de monde, parce que les femmes ſont occupées pendant le jour à leur ménage et ne pourroient pas ſe trouver aux inſtructions pendant un aſſez longtems que dure le catechiſme; 2° a cauſe que les jeunes gens ſont à la chaſſe et les enfants courrent de coté et d'autre, et ne ſont preſque iamais dans leur logis que le matin et le ſoir: c'eſt auſſi pour empecher tous les mauvais diſcours qui ſe tiennent dans la pluspart des cabannes à la veillée: il a plu a Dieu y donner ſa bénédiction tout l'hyver, j'ai eu tous les ſoirs pendant deux heures plus de trois quarts du bourg des *Kaſkaſkia* qui y ſont ici, auſſi étoient ils ſi entaſſés qu'ils ne pouvoient ſe remuer.

Il eſt certain que Dieu agit particulierement en ceci, car ce n'eſt pas la curioſité d'entendre de nouvelles choſes qui attire maintenant les hommes et les femmes au catéchiſme, puiſque je n'inſtruis et n'interroge tous les ſoirs que preſque ſur les meſmes choſes. Ce qui me ſurprend d'avantage eſt l'aſſiduité de la perſeverance des jeunes gens de 25, 30, et 35, et de ceux meſmes qui ont plus de 40 ans. Le chef des *Kaſkaſkia* était à la teſte avec ſon ieune frère qui eſt le capitaine de la jeuneſſe.

This young woman, who is only 17 years old, has so well remembered what I have said about each picture of the Old and of the New Testament that she explains each one singly, without trouble and without confusion, as well as I could do — and even more intelligibly, in their manner. In fact, I allowed her to take away each picture after I had explained it in public, to refresh her memory in private. But she frequently repeated to me, on the spot, all that I had said about each picture; and not only did she explain them at home to her husband, to her father, to her mother, and to all the girls who went there, — as she continues to do, speaking of nothing but the pictures or the catechism, — but she also explained the pictures on the whole of the Old Testament to the old and the young men whom her father assembled in his dwelling.

After devoting the month of October to the explanation of the pictures, I continue to assemble the people, after supper, in my lodge to teach them catechism. Two reasons have led me to do so in the evening toward nightfall: 1st, in order that more persons might be present, because the women are busy during the day with their household occupations, and cannot attend the instructions during the rather long time that the catechism lasts; 2nd, because the young men go out hunting, and the children run about everywhere, and are hardly ever at home except in the morning and evening; also, in order to prevent evil conversations that take place in most of the cabins at night. God has been pleased to bless this practice throughout the winter. I have had every evening, during two hours, over three-fourths of the village of the *Kaskaskia* who are here; and they were so crowded that they could not stir.

Les plus fiers deviennent enfants au catéchiſme, et nul n'a honte au catéchiſme de répondre aux moindres interrogations que je fais, les pères et les mères ſont ravis lorſque j'interroge leurs enfants, ils les encouragent euxmeſmes et me prient lorſque je vais les viſiter chez eux de les interroger, c'eſt une grace que je ne puis pas accorder à tous ceux qui me le demandent, autrement je ne finirois jamais, il eſt vrai que l'eſpérance d'avoir un grain rouge qui eſt un fruit de la groſſeur d'une petite feve qu'on nous a envoyé des Iſles de la Martinique et autres (que n'en ai-je un boiſſeau!) ou bien l'attente d'une aiguille ou d'une medaille ou une croix ou un chapelet (ſurtout ſi il eſt rouge), un petit couteau ou quelque autre choſe curieuſe qui tiennent lieu de récompenſe, anime les enfants a bien répondre; mais il faut bien répondre et pluſieurs jours pour avoir ou le chapelet ou le grain rouge ou une croix, et le reſte en proportion.

Dans toutes les cabannes particulierement de *Kaſkaſkia* on ne me parle que du catechiſme et j'entends avec plaiſir les enfants chanter les cantiqués ou s'entre interroger ſur ce qu'ils ont appris, et lorſque les jeunes gens ſe trouvent dans le logis de leurs chefs, ils y chantent jour et nuit des airs qui les inſtruiſent et les occupent. Les femmes de leur coſté n'en font pas moins. La fin de Fevrier étant celle du froid je n'ai plus fait le catechiſme dans mon logis qui eſt trop petit pour le monde qui s'y trouve; mais dans la chapelle à la meſme heure, et je continuerois tout ce mois de Mars, et plus longtems, ſi je vois la meſme docilité dans une partie des *Peouareoua* au retour de leur hyvernement, et ſi

It is certain that this is a special effect of God's grace, because at present the men and women are not attracted to catechism through curiosity to hear novel things; for I instruct and question them every evening on nearly the same subjects. What surprises me most is the assiduous perseverance of the young men of 25, 30, 35, and even of those over 40 years of age. The chief of the *Kaskaskia* was at their head with his young brother, who is the captain of the young men. The most arrogant become like children at catechism, and not one is ashamed to answer the simplest questions that I put. The fathers and mothers are delighted when I question their children; they themselves encourage them and beg me, when I go into their cabins, to question them. I cannot grant this favor to all who ask it, for otherwise I would never reach an end. It is true that the hope of getting a red bead,—which is a fruit of the size of a small bean, which has been sent to us from Martinique and other Islands[31] (Oh, that I had a bushel of them!),—or a needle, a medal, a cross or a rosary (especially if it be red), a small knife, or other curious object, given as a reward, incites the children to answer well; but they must answer very well for several days, to obtain either the rosary, the red bead, or a cross, and for the other articles in proportion.

In all the cabins, especially those of the *Kaskaskia*, they speak to me only of the catechism; and I hear with pleasure the children singing hymns or questioning one another on what they have learned. And, when the young men are in the lodges of their chiefs, they sing, night and day, chants that instruct them and keep them occupied. On their side, the

peu qu'il y en ait qui frequentent la chapelle, il me la faudra agrandir, puisqu'elle eſt toute pleine des ſeuls *Kaſkaſkia*, ſi l'on juge de la docilité et de l'aſſiduité qu'ils ont pour ſe faire inſtruire, il y a grand lieu d'eſperer que Dieu les convertira.

Mes péchés et la malice des hommes, n'ont pas empéché que Dieu n'eut répandu cette année abondanment les benedictions ſur cette miſſion des Ilinois elle s'eſt accrue de deux cents ſix ames que j'ai batiſées depuis le 30 Mars juſqu'au 29 Novembre 1693. Pluſieurs enfants de ce nombre ſont deja au ciel qui prient Dieu pour la converſion de leurs parents, depuis que le chef des *Kaſkaſkia* eſt batiſé avec ſa femme et ſa famille qui eſt de 15 perſonnes, il ne rougit point de l'evangile, et ne ceſſe point d'exhorter et d'inſtruire jour et nuit les jeunes gens de ſon bourg, et je m'apperçois graces à Dieu qu'il eſt bien écouté auſſi bien que ſa femme qui ſe trouve toujours à la chapelle a la teſte de toutes celles de ſon ſexe. Je fus bien ſurpris a la fin de la nuit, de la voir venir accompagnée de toutes les femmes faire un beau préſent de ſuif à la chapelle (c'eſt la cire du pays) me diſant au nom de toutes qu'elles s'offroient à Dieu pour le luminaire de la chapelle, lorſque je faiſois la grande prière, c'eſt a dire pendant la meſſe, et lorſque je faiſois le catechiſme, me priant de continuer à les inſtruire avec leurs enfants. Le chef de la jeuneſſe accompagné d'une partie de ſes camarades fit auſſi à la chapelle un ſemblable préſent quelques temps après avec le meſme compliment, ſans que je les euſſe porté en aucune manière à cette bonne action, et ſans leur avoir rien dit que peut leur

women do as much. The end of February being the end of the cold season, I have no longer taught catechism in my lodge, which is too small to hold all the people who come to it, but in the chapel at the same hour; and I shall continue to teach throughout the month of March,—and longer, if I find the same docility among a portion of the *Peouareoua* on their return from their winter quarters. Even if a few only of them come to the chapel, I shall have to enlarge it; for it is filled with the *Kaskaskia* alone. If one may judge by their docility and assiduity in seeking to be instructed, there is great reason to hope that God will convert them.

My sins and the malice of men have not prevented God from pouring down abundant blessings on this mission of the Ilinois. It has been augmented by two hundred and six souls whom I baptized between the 30th of March and 29th of November, 1693. Many children among that number are already in heaven and pray to God for their parents' conversion. Since the chief of the *Kaskaskia* has been baptized with his wife and family, consisting of 15 persons, he blushes not for the gospel, and ceases not to exhort and instruct the young men of his village night and day. I observe, thanks be to God, that he is listened to as well as his wife, who is ever in the chapel at the head of all those of her sex. I was greatly surprised, at the end of the night, to see her come, accompanied by all the women, to make a fine present of tallow to the chapel (this is the wax of the country). She told me, in the name of all, that they offered it to God, to light the chapel when I said the great prayer—that is, during mass—and when I taught catechism, begging me to continue to

donner la moindre penſée de préſenter quelque choſe à la chapelle.

Le gendre du chef des Kaſkaſkia, qui eſt maintenant auſſi zélé pour la converſion des Ilinois, qu'il y a été autrefois contraire et qui rend de bons ſervices aux miſſions m'a dit que l'entretenant dans la famille des cérémonies de nos egliſes et des offrandes que l'on fait a Dieu de cierges, de pain beni, etc. ſa belle mère lui dit: pourquoi notre père qui nous inſtruit à la foi, ne nous dit il pas, qu'il eſt agréable a Dieu que nous faſſions auſſi quelque offrande à la chapelle: avons nous de l'eſprit et ſavons nous ce qu'il faut faire? nous imiterons volontiers les chreſtiens qui donnent de quoi eclairer l'autel et faire le pain qu'on benit, et l'été prochain nous preſenterons de notre recolte au grand Manitoua aſſouv, c'eſt à dire au grand eſprit ou genie. L'inconſtance et la legéreté des ſauvages eſt ſi grande qu'on ne peut compter encore ſur toutes les premières démarches qu'ils font; mais à voir l'aſſiduité qu'ils continuent de faire paroiſtre, il y a lieu d'eſperer qu'agiſſant auſſi ſincèrement qu'ils font, Dieu ne permettra pas que les ennemis de leur converſion et de la miſſion, ruinent ces bons commencements qui les préparent à embraſſer n. S^te^. religion. Priez Dieu mon R^d^ P., qu'il conſerve le chef néophyte, ſa femme, ſa famille et ſon gendre dans leur 1re ferveur, ils ſont d'un grand ſecours au miſſionaire, et ils en font plus que moi ou plutot ils font tout et je ne fais rien ou preſque rien. Si l'on étoit bien convaincu de ce que fait ici le chef des *Kaſkaſkia* pour porter tout le monde à ſe faire inſtruire et a quitter l'infidelité je m'aſſure que bien loin d'ajouter aucune foi a toutes les calomnies

instruct them and their children. The chief of the young men, accompanied by a portion of his comrades, also gave the chapel a similar present some time afterward, with the same compliment,— without my having in any way urged them to that good action, and without my saying anything to them that might give them the slightest idea of presenting anything to the chapel.

The son-in-law of the chief of the Kaskaskia— who is now as zealous for the conversion of the Ilinois as he was formerly opposed to it, and who renders good service to the missions — told me that, while speaking in the family of the ceremonies of our churches, and of the offerings made to God of tapers, blessed bread, etc., his mother-in-law said to him: "Why does not our father who instructs us in the faith tell us that it would be agreeable to God if we gave some offering to the chapel? Have we sense, and do we know what we should do? We will gladly imitate the christians who give what is necessary to light the altar, and for making the bread that is blessed; and next summer we shall give some of our harvest to the great *Manitoua assouv*"— that is to say, "the great spirit, or genie." So great are the inconstancy and levity of the savages that we cannot yet rely upon the first steps that they take; but, judging from the assiduity that they continue to display, there is reason to hope that, while acting as sincerely as they do, God will not allow the enemies of their conversion and of the mission to ruin these good beginnings, which are preparing them to embrace our Holy religion. Pray to God, my Reverend Father, to preserve the neophyte chief, his wife, his family, and his son-in-law in

dont l'on menace ici tous ceux qui ſont fachés qu'il ſe ſoit fait chreſtien, on lui marqueroit la joie qu'on en a, ou qu'on en devroit avoir pour l'encourager à ſe conſerver dans la première ferveur, et a porter toute la nation à connoiſtre et a adorer le vrai Dieu, et que les François s'attireroient la benediction de Dieu, et ſur leur perſonne et ſur toute la colonie. Par tout ce detail que je vous fais de cette egliſe naiſſante, vous jugez aſſez, mon R. P. combien ces nouveau troupeaux de J. C. ont beſoin d'eſtre défendus contres les loups qui les veulent diſſiper, et d'eſtre aſſiſtés des prières de tous ceux qui s'interreſſent à la gloire de Dieu et au ſalut des ames; vous qui y prenez tant de part, vous aurez s'il vous plait la charité de les recommander au grande paſteur des ames, de vouloir bien prier le R. P. Provincial d'envoyer quelques braves et zélés miſſionaires et de ne pas oublier dans vos SS. ss.

Mon R. P.

Votre très humble et très obeiſſant
Serviteur en N. S.
Jacques Gravier.

A Quebec.

their 1st fervor. They are of great assistance to the missionary, and do more than I — or rather they do all, and I do nothing, or almost nothing. If people were really convinced of what the chief of the *Kaskaskia* does here to induce all to be instructed and to abandon infidelity, I am quite sure that — far from giving any credence to all the calumnies with which he is threatened by all here who are angry at his having become a christian — they would manifest to him the joy they feel, or should feel. That would encourage him to preserve his first fervor and to urge the whole nation to know and to worship the true God; and the French would thereby call down God's blessings upon themselves and upon the whole colony. From all these details that I give you respecting this nascent church, you will be able, my Reverend Father, to judge how much these new flocks of Jesus Christ need to be protected against the wolves that seek to scatter them, and to be aided by the prayers of all who take an interest in the glory of God and in the salvation of souls. You who take such a part in it will please have the charity to commend them to the great pastor of souls, to beg the Reverend Father Provincial to send some courageous and zealous missionaries, and not to forget in your Holy sacrifices,

My Reverend Father,

Your very humble and very obedient
Servant in Our Lord,
JACQUES GRAVIER.

To Quebec.

Lettre du P. Jean de Lamberville à un Père Missionnaire de Chine.

Paris, ce 23 Jan: 1695.

Mon Révérend Père
P. X^ti.

Je me trouve icy depuis 3 ans sans vous y retrouver, et le souvenir d'y avoir esté autrefois honoré de l'honneur de vostre amitié me confond de me voir en lieu de seureté, tandis que vous vous exposés pour J. C. aux dangers de la vie, et que vous souffres beaucoup par la privation volontaire des commodités et des petites consolations que vous aviés en Europe, dont ceux qui y sont revenus jouissent. Nous avons appris la persécution que vous souffrés que l'envie vous a suscitée, on le voit, et peut estre que Rome vous sera favorable. Le R^d Père Général, comme vous l'apprendrés du R. P. Tachard et des autres missionnaires qui retournent aux Indes, vous informeront de tout. Je prie nostre Seigneur qu'il vous soutienne en un païs où vous travaillés avantageusement a sa gloire, et par le moyen des sciences vous ouvrés avec beaucoup de mérite le chemin à l'Evangile. Les Hollandois ont raporté que le fils de l'Empereur porte une croix d'or au cou, et qu'il se fait instruire dans nostre religion pour l'embrasser, fiat, fiat.

Depuis que j'ay eu le bien de vous voir, il y a eu de grands changemens en nostre nouvelle france.

Letter by Father Jean de Lamberville to a Missionary Father of China.

PARIS, this 23rd of January, 1695.

MY REVEREND FATHER,

Pax Christi.

I have now been here for 3 years, and have no longer found you here,[32] and the remembrance of having once been honored by your friendship confounds me at seeing myself in a place of safety, while you are for Jesus Christ's sake exposing yourself to the risk of life, and while you are suffering much through the voluntary privation of the conveniences and little comforts that you have in Europe, which those who have returned hither are enjoying. We have learned of the persecution that you are suffering, which envy has incited against you; it is known, and probably Rome will be favorable to you. The Reverend Father General, as you will learn from Reverend Father Tachard and other missionaries who are returning to the Indies, will inform you of all. I entreat our Lord that he will sustain you in a country where you are working advantageously to his glory, and that by means of the sciences you may with much merit open the way to the Gospel. The Dutch have reported that the son of the Emperor wears a golden cross around his neck, and that he is receiving instruction in our religion, in order to embrace it. *Fiat, fiat.*

Since I had the pleasure of seeing you, there have

Après bien des années de paix avec les Iroquois, qui commençaient à se faire chrétiens, on a voulu la guerre, quoyqu'ils offrissent de satisfaire, s'ils avoient tort. On a fait semblant de vouloir la continuation de la paix, et on est venu pour les surprendre; en vain, ils se sont trouvés prests; et comme j'estois encore parmy eux avec mon frère, tous les autres missionnaires s'estant retirés en ayant eu ordre des supérieurs, on trouva bon que je restasse encore en leur pays, s'ils le vouloient bien. Ils l'agréèrent et Dieu voulut bien se servir de moy pour arrester l'armée de ces Barbares, qui estoient disposés à attaquer la nostre, qui estoit sans vivres, avancée dans leur païs et réduite en si mauvais estat par les fièvres et la dyssenterie, qu'elle ressembloit à un hospital plustost qu'à un camp, au lieu où elle estoit passée. La paix se renouvella, et l'on protesta que celuy qui la romproit le 1er attireroit sur luy l'indignation de Dieu. En 1686 un nouveau gouverneur plein des idées de la guerre telle qu'elle se fait en Europe entreprit de ruiner et annéantir, s'il pouvoit, les Iroquois, pour y faire fleurir, disoit-il, le christianisme et la colonie dans le païs. Il m'escrit de le venir trouver pour s'aboucher avec moy sur les afaires de ces gens-là. Je le fus trouver à Kebec, où après bien des éclaircissemens, il me dit que les Iroquois ne luy donneroient pas les étrivières comme ils avoient fait à ses prédécesseurs, qu'il sçavoit la guerre, et le moyen de les réduire à leur devoir, que le Roy luy donneroit des hommes et tous les secours nécessaires pour venir à bout de ses desseins. Je luy répondis que je voiois bien que des gens intéressés le portoient à des extrémités, qui leurs seroient

been great changes in our new france. After many years of peace with the Iroquois, who were beginning to become christians, some people desired war, although the Iroquois offered to give satisfaction, if they were wrong. There was a pretense of desiring to continue the peace, and then the french came to surprise them. In vain; the savages were found to be ready; and, as I was still among them with my brother,—all the other missionaries having withdrawn, upon receiving orders to that effect from the superiors,—it was considered best that I should remain in their country, if they consented to it. They approved this, and God was pleased to employ me to stop the army of these Barbarians, who were disposed to attack ours,—which was without provisions, far within their country, and reduced to such a bad condition through fevers and dysentery that the place to which it had proceeded was more like a hospital than a camp. The peace was renewed, and it was protested that the 1st one that broke it would draw upon himself the wrath of God. In 1686, a new governor, full of ideas of such war as is carried on in Europe, undertook to ruin and annihilate, if he could, the Iroquois,—to make, said he, christianity and colonization flourish in the country. He wrote to me to visit him, that he might confer with me about the affairs of those people. I met him at Kebec, where, after many explanations, he told me that the Iroquois would not beat him as they had his predecessors; that he knew how to make war, and how to reduce them to their duty; that the King would give him men, and all the help necessary to succeed in his designs. I replied that I saw clearly that interested people were influencing him to

préjudiciables et à la colonie française, et mesme à la Religion. Le gouverneur faisant semblant de se rendre à mes raisons, me députa vers les Iroquois pour les inviter tous, en la personne de leurs chefs à se trouver le printemps au rendés vous qu'il marqua pour y parler de la continuation de la paix et des moyens de la bien maintenir avec eux, et eux avec luy. On me dit d'engager la foy et la parole qu'on leur donnoit de leur seureté et liberté de venir à ce rendés vous et de là de retourner chès eux. J'exécute mes ordres. J'assemblay 40 des principaux chefs de toutes les bourgades Iroquoises. Je leur donne la parole du gouverneur. Je leur proteste qu'estant chrétien et choisy par le Roy pour estre son lieutenant général en ce païs-là, il falloit qu'ils crûssent qu'il estoit un homme incapable de manquer à sa parole ni de tromper contre le droit des gens. Sur quoy ils acquiescèrent à mes instances. Ils furent au rendès vous, ou l'on les trompa, on les mit aux fers et dans les prisons. On leur pilla quantité de pelletries qu'ils avoient aportées pour marquer aux français par leur commerce qu'ils se fioient à eux. On les transporta en france. On les mit à Aix où ils sont morts de misère à la réserve de 13, qu'on leur ramena à cause que leurs compatriotes alloient venger cette perfidie qui fut suivie d'une 2de qui vous estonneroit si je vous la racontois, et où le P. Millet, ancien miss^{re} en Canada et de nostre Province eust bien des sujets de tristesse. Il fut luy mesme ensuitte pris par les Iroquois, prest à estre bruslé à petit feu après avoir oüi cent reproches qu'ils luy firent que c'estoit en vain qu'il les avoit instruits de nos mystères, que nous estions des perfides etc. Un

extreme measures, which would be prejudicial to them and to the french colony, and even to Religion. The governor, pretending to yield to my arguments, deputed me to go to the Iroquois and invite them all, in the persons of their chiefs, to be present in the spring at the rendezvous that he designated, to talk there about the continuation of the peace, and the means of properly maintaining it with them, and they with him. I was told to pledge his faith and word that they would be given safety and liberty to come to this rendezvous, and to return thence to their people. I execute my orders; I assemble 40 of the principal chiefs, from all the Iroquois villages. I give them the word of the governor. I protest to them that, as he is a christian, and chosen by the King to be his lieutenant-general in this country, they ought to believe that he was a man incapable of breaking his word, or of violating the law of nations. Upon that, they yielded to my urgency. They were at the rendezvous, where they were deceived; they were put in irons and in prisons. They were plundered of a quantity of peltries, which they had brought in order to show the french by this traffic that they had confidence in them. They were carried away to france. They were taken to Aix, where they died from destitution,—except 13, who were brought back because their compatriots were going to avenge this perfidy. This was followed by a 2nd instance of treachery, which would astonish you if I were to relate it, and in which Father Millet—a former missionary in Canada, and from our Province—certainly had reason for grief. He himself was afterward captured by the Iroquois, and was about to be burned at a slow fire,

homme et une femme, l'un et l'autre affectionnés au christianisme et X^ens^ firent des presens et intriguèrent si bien qu'ils sauvèrent la vie audit P. Millet qu'ils adoptèrent pour leur père decédé il y avoit longtemps; et de leur logis ils ont fait une chapelle, où le P. fait ses fonctions de miss^re^ de sorte qu'au milieu de ces ennemis barbares il entretient le culte de Dieu, et y a converti beaucoup d'Iroquois. Après avoir esté 5 ans chez eux, assistant à la mort des prisonniers français que l'on brusloit, et faisant donner la vie à d'autres, il a esté ramené à Kebec, [au] capitaine de la nouvelle france avec 15 captifs français. On a alors tanté en vain de faire la paix avec les Iroquois, dont ceux qui sont les plus intéressés dans la trahison qu'on leur a faite contre la seureté promise; et à cause que j'amenois le reste des députés, on alla par une autre route insulter et saccager leurs Bourgades. Ils ont rompu tous les projets de paix, particulièrement à cause des instances qui leur ont esté faites par les Anglais voysins de la nouvelle france de continuer avec eux la guerre contre nous; c'est ce qui fait demander encore des troupes au Roy. La guerre fut commencée un an auparavant celle que nous ont déclarée les anglois, et ça esté pour cette raison qu'on auroit bien voulu avoir la paix avec les Iroquois en ce païs-là, où les françois et les Iroquois s'entrebrulent lorsqu'ils sont pris vifs.

Pour ce qui me regarde me trouvant encore chez les Iroquois, lorsqu'on commença d'arrester leurs députés, les anglois qui n'estoient pas encore nos Ennemis en 1686, informés par des françois qui s'estoient retirés de Kebec pour demeurer parmy eux, des préparatifs qu'on fesoit contre les Iroquois

after having heard a hundred reproaches that they heaped upon him,— that it was in vain that he had instructed them in our mysteries; that we were traitors; etc. A man and woman, both strongly attached to christianity and to Christians, made presents and intrigued so well that they saved this Father Millet's life. They adopted him in place of their father, who had died a long time before; and of their dwelling they made a chapel, where the Father performed his functions of missionary — with the result that in the midst of these hostile barbarians he maintained the worship of God, and there converted many Iroquois. After having spent 5 years among them,— being present at the death of the french prisoners whom they burned, and persuading them to grant life to others, he was brought back to Kebec, to the captain of new france, with 15 french captives. Efforts were then made, but in vain, to make peace with the Iroquois by those who had been most interested in the treacherous act committed in violation of the safety promised them; and, while I was bringing the rest of the deputies, the french went by another route to attack and plunder their Villages. The Iroquois broke off all plans for peace, especially on account of the solicitations made to them by their English neighbors in new france to continue with them the war against us; it was that which caused still more troops to be requested from the King. The war was begun a year before that which the english declared against us; and it was for this reason that the french would have been glad to have peace with the Iroquois in that country, where the french and the Iroquois burn each other when taken alive.

qui sont voysins de la nouvelle angleterre, me donnèrent avis de ce qui se tramoit, et que l'on se servoit de moy pour tromper les Iroquois; et qu'ainsi ne pouvant plus exercer doresnavant mon employ de miss^re^ chez eux, c'estoit inutile d'y rester, de me retirer en la nouvelle York dont le Gouverneur pour le roy Jacques (qui est maintenant en france) estoit catholique et avoit deux Jésuites anglois auprès de luy. Mais ne pouvant me persuader qu'on eust manqué de parole, je me résolus de refuser cette offre, et de persuader aux Iroquois de suivre avec moy leurs députés, qu'ils ne sçavoient pas encore avoir esté arrestés. Je renvoye donc les cavaliers anglais et le cheval qu'ils m'avoient envoyé pour m'ammener et me mettre en seureté contre la colère des Iroquois. Comme 8 des plus notables Iroquois estoient en chemin avec moy pour aller au susdit rendés vous, où leurs camarades estoient déjà arrestés à leur insu, quelques uns échapés des mains des françois vinrent aporter la nouvelle de ce qui se passoit, avant quoy j'avois receu (mais trop tard) des lettres d'avis de me retirer de païs des Iroquois par quelque moyen que ce fut, à cause qu'on les alloit attaquer. Les chefs des Iroquois avec qui j'estois en chemin ayant fait environ 8 lieues avec moy, me dirent qu'estant informé, comme ils venoient de l'estre qu'on avoit violé le droit des gens à leur égard j'eusse à me retirer chez les françois, ne voulant pas que pour m'estre fié à eux, et resté dans leur païs, on leur peut reprocher que j'y estois péri, et que je devois estre enveloppé dans le malheur de cette nouvelle guerre, ce ne seroit pas entre leurs mains que je devois estre massacré, y estant de bonne

As for me, finding myself among the Iroquois when the french began to arrest their deputies, the english, who were not yet our Enemies in 1686,— informed by the french who had gone from Kebec to live among them, of the preparations that were being made against the Iroquois, who are neighbors of new england,— warned me of what was being plotted. They told me that some one was making use of me to betray the Iroquois; that, since I could no longer continue thenceforth my occupation of missionary among them, it was useless to remain there; and that I should take refuge in new York, of which the Governor for king James (who is now in france) was a catholic, and had two english Jesuits with him.[83] But, not being able to persuade myself that certain persons had broken their word, I resolved to refuse this offer, and to induce the Iroquois to follow with me their deputies, of whose arrest they did not yet know. I sent back, therefore, the english troopers and the horse that they had sent to take me away, and to place me in security against the wrath of the Iroquois. While 8 of the most notable Iroquois were with me on the way to the aforesaid rendezvous,— where, unknown to them, their comrades had already been arrested,— some who had escaped from the hands of the french came to bring the news of what had taken place; before this happened, I had received (but too late) letters warning me to make my retreat from the country of the Iroquois by any available means, because an attack was to be made thereon. The chiefs of the Iroquois, with whom I was on the way, had gone about 8 leagues with me; they told me that, as they had just been informed that the law of nations had been

foy, mais que s'ils me tuoient ce seroit parmy les françois, à qui ils alloient faire voir leur ressentiment. Je me séparai ainsi d'eux, et fort triste de tout ce qui se passoit, et allai à ce funeste rendés vous, où je trouve deux cent Iroquois, tant hommes que femmes faits prisonniers, lorsqu'ils pensoient devoir estre bien receus. Ils se recrièrent contre le procédé et quelques uns qui avoient esté en france nommoient souvent le Roy comme reclamant la justice et sa protection. Après quoy l'on fut porter la désolation dans une contrée de leur païs, dont mille fusilliers Iroquois estoient lors absents sur la bonne foy que l'on leur avoit donnée. Je ne pus obtenir que l'on relachast de ces misérables que 7 ou 8 personnes qui nous avoient rendu de bons services dans l'occasion. Quelque temps après je me trouvai avec dix soldats sur un lac de cent lieues de long, dans une petite barque qui fut attaquée par 800 Iroquois qui estoient dans leurs canots. Nous nous défendismes assés bien pendant 3 quart d'heure, mais ils nous alloient accabler de leur nombre lorsque le ciel fut favorable à nos vœux, et nous envoya du vent qui nous déroba à leur furie, lorsqu'ils croyoient tenir leur proye, et venger sur nous la mort de leurs camarades. Je fus ensuite par obéissance obligé de rester dans cet infortuné rendés vous avec 140 soldats, dont j'estois l'aumonier. Dieu me conserva dans 2 sorties sans estre blessé proche de nos françois étendus morts à mes pieds, quelques uns desquels reçurent l'absolution. Enfin les Iroquois nous ayant si fort resserrés que nous ne pouvions plus avoir ny bois ny eau ni rafraichissement, le mal de terre se mit parmy la garnison qui en enleva environ cent. En

violated in regard to them, I must take refuge among the french. For they did not desire that, since I had trusted myself to them and remained in their country, any one should reproach them with my having perished there; and, if I were to be involved in the misfortune of this new war, it should not be in their hands that I were slain, when I was there in good faith; but, if they killed me, it would be among the french, against whom they were going to show their resentment. I therefore parted from them, very sad at all that was taking place, and went to this fatal rendezvous — where I found two hundred Iroquois, both men and women, who had been made prisoners when they thought that they would be kindly received. They clamored against this proceeding; and some who had been in france often named the King, as if claiming justice and his protection. After that, desolation was carried into a region of their country from which a thousand Iroquois armed men were then absent, upon the good faith that had been given them. I could not procure the release of these wretched people, except of 7 or 8 who had rendered us friendly services when they had opportunity. Some time afterward, I was with ten soldiers upon a lake a hundred leagues long, in a little bark, which was attacked by 800 Iroquois, who were in their canoes. We defended ourselves very well for 3 quarters of an hour; but they were about to overwhelm us with their numbers, when heaven was favorable to our prayers and sent us a wind, which swept us away from their fury when they thought to grasp their prey, and to avenge upon us the death of their comrades. I was afterward obliged, through obedience, to remain in this

les assistant à la mort je gagnai leur mal et estant prest de mourir comme les autres, un officier de nos troupes estant survenu sur les neiges avec 30 hommes dont 15 estoient des Iroquois, amis et chrestiens, pour voir à la dérobée l'estat où nous estions; aprez 80 lieues de marche sur les glaces et les neiges chargés de leurs vivres, hardes, et armes, ils nous trouvèrent en très mauvais estat et de peur de rester eux mesmes dans ce fort, où le mauvais air leurs fit sentir d'abord les 1ers commencemens de cette estrange maladie, ils résolurent de partir aussi tost et de faire toute la diligence possible pour ne pas estre enveloppés ou rencontrés par les ennemis. Cet officier qui estoit mon amy ayant sceu du chirurgien que je n'avois plus qu'un ou 2 Jours à vivre si l'on ne me tiroit de ce poste, entreprit de m'enlever à demy mort, refusant de faire la mesme grâce à quelques autres, mesmes officiers, qui moururent ensuite, mais qui estoient moins prests de la mort que moy, alléguant la longueur du voyage, l'incommodité de la saison, la nécessité de porter leurs armes et vivres et leur couverture, et la nécessité de faire grande diligence, à cause des ennemis qui les suivoient à la piste. Il entreprenoit de faire pour moy ce qu'il ne feroit pas pour un autre. L'ayant prié de me laisser mourir, et de vouloir substituer en ma place un officier malade, il le refusa absolument. Estant donc devenu désormais inutile par l'estat où je me trouvais, le reste de la garnison receut l'absolution générale, tandis qu'on me portoit sous les bras, puis m'ayant lié sur un traineau, où 2 gros chiens estoient attelés on se mit en chemin passant sur un lac glacé. La glace s'estant cassée je

ill-fated rendezvous with 140 soldiers, whose chaplain I was.[34] God preserved me in 2 sorties without being wounded, while near by our frenchmen lay dead at my feet, some of whom had received absolution. Finally, the Iroquois having so closed us in that we could get neither wood, water, nor fresh food, the scurvy broke out among the garrison, and carried off about a hundred men. In assisting them at death, I caught their disease. When I, like the others, was near dying, an officer of our troops, unexpectedly came over the snow, with 30 men,— 15 of whom were Iroquois, friends and christians,— to learn privately in what condition we were; for this they had marched 80 leagues over the snow and ice laden with their food, clothing, and arms. They found us in a very bad condition; and, for fear of remaining themselves in this fort,— where the unwholesome air made them feel, from the 1st, the beginning of this singular malady,— they resolved to depart immediately, and to make all possible haste, that they might not be surrounded or encountered by the enemy. This officer, who was my friend, having learned from the surgeon that I had only one or 2 Days to live if they did not get me away from this post, undertook to remove me who was half dead. He refused to accord the same favor to some others, even officers,— who afterward died, but who were less ready for death than I was,— alleging the length of the journey, and the inclemency of the season; the necessity of carrying their arms, provisions, and blankets; and the necessity for making great haste on account of the enemy, who were following in their track. He undertook to do for me what he would not do for another. Having

fus en cet estat plongé dans l'eau tout empacquetté sur ce traineau, les chiens qui y estoient attachés me soutinrent de dessus la glace, où ils tenoient bon avec leurs ongles. Il fallut bien de façons pour me tirer de ce péril, à cause que la glace qui m'environnoit estoit rompue de tous costés. Enfin comme l'on me tiroit de l'eau la corde cassa et je courus risque d'estre noyé. Estant retiré de l'eau et remis sur la glace, les chiens estant trop fatigués, quelques Canadiens françois et des soldats qui estoient avec nous, prirent la peine de me traisner, tantost sur la glace, et tantost sur les neiges, les uns apres les autres sans discontinuer leur marche, à cause que les Iroquois poursuivoient à la piste, et qu'on vouloit garder l'avantage qu'on avoit sur eux, de peur qu'ils nous atteignissent. Il fallut donc, tout mouillé que j'estois attendre jusqu'a 9 heures du soir à me réchauffer à la faveur de la nuit, partir de nostre giste de grand matin, et se remettre sur la glace pour cacher nos pistes aux ennemis qui ne manquoient pas à nous suivre, mais de fort loin, à cause de la diligence dont on usait pendant le voyage qui dura 7 jours et demy, et lorsque je fus rendu à Montréal qui est le poste avancé, à la teste des habitations françaises, l'on me porta promptement à l'hospital, où l'on me mit sur une paillasse au coin du feu, où je restai 4 heures toujours prest à rendre l'âme. Par les soins des officiers qui se trouvèrent là et de quelques personnes charitables l'on me tira des portes de la mort. Dez le matin suivant, M^rs^ les prestres du séminaire de Saint-Sulpice, qui sont en ce lieu, me retirèrent chez eux. J'ay esté deux ans et demy, à me remettre un peu de cet estrange mal du scorbut.

entreated him to let me die, and to consent to substitute in my place a sick officer, he absolutely refused. Accordingly, as I had become useless from that time, on account of the condition in which I was, the rest of the garrison received general absolution, while they supported me by the arms; then, having bound me upon a sledge, to which 2 great dogs were harnessed, they set out, passing over a frozen lake. The ice broke, and, carefully bundled upon this sledge, I was in this condition plunged into the water. The dogs which were attached to it kept me above the ice, to which they held fast with their claws. To rescue me from this peril needed great carefulness, because the ice which surrounded me was broken on all sides. Finally, when they were drawing me out of the water, the rope broke, and I ran the risk of being drowned. Being withdrawn from the water and again placed upon the ice, the dogs were too much fatigued; and some french Canadians and soldiers who were with us took the trouble to drag me, now over the ice, now over the snow, by turns,— without discontinuing their march, because the Iroquois were following in their track; and because they wished to keep the advantage that they had over them, for fear that they might attack us. It was necessary, then, all wet as I was, to wait until 9 o'clock in the evening to warm myself under cover of night; and to leave our halting-place early in the morning, and again betake ourselves to the ice, to conceal our footsteps from the enemy. The foe continued to follow us, but at a great distance, on account of the haste that we made during the journey, which lasted 7 days and a half. When I arrived at Montréal,— which is the frontier post, at

Comme j'avois gagné ce mal au service des soldats, les gens du roy me défrayèrent pendant tout ce temps, et payèrent ma dépense à ces M^rs^ qui m'avoient si obligement enlevé chez eux, ce fut en fevrier 1688 que cecy se passa.

Les Iroquois, cependant, dès la fin de 1687, avoient insulté nostre colonie en divers endroits par le meurtre et la captivité de plusieurs françois, dont ils avoient tué les bestiaux et bruslé les maisons et les granges avec ceux qui s'y trouvèrent; et comme ils approchoient de Montréal avec leur armée l'on prist la résolution de se servir de moy pour conjurer l'orage, et pour leur faire quelques propositions, qui fussent capables de les arrester, et par la de gagner du temps, jusqu'à ce que le Roy envoyast du secours qui peut résister à ces Barbares, et soustenir en mesme temps la guerre contre les Anglais, qui nous déclarèrent la guerre un an après que l'on fut brouillé avec les Iroquois. Je fus porté au devant de ces ennemis, accompagné d'un officier de mes amis pour qui les chefs des Iroquois avoient de la considération. Nostre negociation fut favorisée du ciel et nous amenasmes à Montréal, où toutes les forces du païs s'étoient rendues en juin avec le Gouverneur du Canada, prest de cent Iroquois qui vinrent sans armes avec les principaux de leurs chefs trouver nostre gouverneur, tandisque leur petite armée resta à 2 lieues de là, bien résolu de venger leurs gens, si on les maltraittoit. Le désir qu'ils avoient de retirer leurs compatriotes qu'on avoit par trahison mis aux fers, et conduits aux galères en france comme j'ay dit cy-dessus, leur fit faire cette démarche, et se risquer sur la parole du gouverneur et la nostre. Ils furent

the head of the french settlements,—I was carried promptly to the hospital, where I was placed upon a mattress in a corner by the fire; there I remained 4 hours, always ready to render up my soul. Through the care of the officers who were there, and of some kindly people, I was drawn from the gates of death. On the following morning, Messieurs the priests of the seminary of Saint Sulpice, who are in this place, took me to their house. I spent two years and a half in partially recovering from this singular disease of scurvy. As I had contracted my illness while serving the soldiers, the king's officials defrayed my expenses during all this time, and paid those Gentlemen who had so obligingly taken me to their house. It was in february, 1688, that this occurred.

The Iroquois, meanwhile, from the end of 1687, had injured our colony at various places, through the murder and captivity of many frenchmen,—whose cattle they had killed, and whose houses and barns, with those who were therein, they had burned. As they were approaching Montréal with their army, it was resolved to employ me to avert the storm, and to make them certain propositions which might be capable of checking them. By that means, we might gain time, until the King should send aid that might resist these Barbarians, and at the same time sustain the war against the English,—who declared war upon us a year after we had become embroiled with the Iroquois. I was carried out to meet these enemies, accompanied by an officer,—one of my friends, for whom the chiefs of the Iroquois had regard. Our negotiation was favored by heaven, and we brought to Montréal—whither

bien receus, et mesme régalés. Ils nous reprochèrent nostre peu de parole, et dirent que si on leur en manquoit encore en se mettant entre nos mains comme ils le fesoient, leurs gens sçauroient bien s'en venger. On les rassura par toutes les manières qui pouvoient leur oster toute sorte de défiance. Ils promirent mesme de faire consentir à la paix les cantons des Iroquois qui en estoient les plus éloignés, et que si on voulait bien promettre sureté en revenant en apporter des nouvelles, ils feroient bien voir combien ils estoient bien intentionnés. Deux mois après ce pourparler qui nous ménagea une trève, les Iroquois renvoyèrent effectivement quatre de leurs gens pour faire sçavoir aux françois l'heureux succès de leur négociation, mais ils furent malheureusement assassinés en chemin par des sauvages de nos alliés, qui ne vouloient pas que nous eussions la paix avec les Iroquois, affin que le fort de la guerre tombast sur nous plustost que sur eux. Cette méchante action que ces perfides nous imputèrent, et qu'ils firent sçavoir aux Iroquois qu'elle n'avoit esté faite qu'à nostre sollicitation, a rallumé la guerre, en sorte que les Iroquois et les françois s'entrebrulèrent les uns les autres d'une manière horrible qui continue depuis 7 ans. Les anglois joints aux Iroquois, ont attaqué la colonie par les 2 extrémités et par le milieu. Kebec mesme a esté assiégé par les anglois, mais la protection toute particulière de Dieu a eclatté sur ce pauvre Canada, qui subsiste encore. Les Iroquois en ont désolé la 3e partie. Il faut espérer que de si cruelles guerres finiront en la nouvelle france lorsque Dieu rendra le repos à l'Europe conjurée contre la France. L'on a fait l'an passé une

all the forces of the country, with the Governor of Canada, had repaired in june — nearly one hundred Iroquois, who came unarmed, with their principal chiefs, to see our governor; meanwhile their little army remained 2 leagues away, firmly resolved to avenge their people if they were maltreated. Their desire to get back their compatriots, who had been treacherously put into irons and taken to the galleys in france, as I have said above, caused them to take this measure, and risk themselves upon the word of the governor and ours. They were well received, and even feasted. They reproached us with our bad faith, and said that, if we again failed to keep a promise to them when they placed themselves in our power, as they were now doing, their people would know very well how to avenge it. They were reassured in every way that could remove from them any distrust whatever. They even promised to make the cantons of the Iroquois who were farthest away consent to the peace; and assured us that, if we would promise them safety to return and bring news from their people, they would show clearly how good their intentions were. Two months after this parley, which procured us a truce, the Iroquois did really send back four of their people to let the french know the satisfactory result of their negotiation; but those men unfortunately were assassinated, while on the way, by some of our allied savages who did not wish us to make peace with the Iroquois, in order that the brunt of the war should fall upon us rather than upon them.[35] This wicked action — which these perfidious people imputed to us; and which, they informed the Iroquois, was done only at our solicitation — rekindled the war; and, as

nouvelle tentative de paix avec les Iroquois, mais en vain, les anglois de ces quartiers-là, ont si bien intrigué qu'ils ont fait perdre toute l'espérance qu'on en avoit conceue, et les Iroquois disent qu'il ne faut pas espérer la paix avec eux que nous ne l'ayons auparavant avec les anglois. Ils ont cependant rendu le P. Millet qu'ils ont eu prisonnier l'espace de 5 ans avec quelques autres captifs. Ce père a entretenu le culte de D. pendant sa captivité chez ces Barbares et y a sauvé beaucoup d'ames qui louent Dieu maintenant au ciel. Pour moy, mon cher père, ma mission chez les Iroquois étant entièrement fermée par la guerre je me trouve icy, où je suis procureur de nostre mission, en attendant l'heureux moment qui me fasse repasser la mer pour aller finir le peu de jours qui me restent dans nostre cher Canada. Priés Dieu, je vous prie qu'il me fasse cette miséricorde, et me croyés toujours avec un respectueux attachement, de V^e^ R^e^, le très humble et très obéissant serviteur en N. S.

De Lamberville S.J.

a result, the Iroquois and the french burned each other in a horrible manner, which has continued for 7 years. The english, united with the Iroquois, have attacked the colony at both extremities and in the middle. Even Kebec has been besieged by the english; but the very special protection of God has been shining upon this poor Canada, which still exists. The Iroquois have desolated a 3rd of it. It is to be hoped that such cruel wars will end in new france when God shall give rest to Europe, which has conspired against France. Last year a new attempt at peace with the Iroquois was made, but in vain. The english of those quarters have so intrigued that they have ruined all the hopes for peace that we had entertained; and the Iroquois say that we need not expect peace with them until we first secure it with the english. They have, however, restored Father Millet, whom they had kept a prisoner for the space of 5 years, with some other captives. This father maintained the worship of God during his captivity among these Barbarians, and there saved many souls who are now praising God in heaven. As for me, my dear father, my mission among the Iroquois being entirely closed by the war, I am here,—where I am procuror of our mission, awaiting the happy moment which will cause me to recross the sea, that I may end in our dear Canada the few days that remain to me. Entreat God, I beg you, that he may show me this mercy, and believe me always, with respectful attachment, Your Reverence's very humble and very obedient servant in Our Lord,

De Lamberville, S.J.

P^is^ G. Marest iter et missio in sinum Hudsonium in ora septentrionali Canadæ an. 1694. Epistola ad R. P. Thyrsum Gonzales, Præpositum Generalem Societatis Jesu, Romæ.

Quebec, oct. 1695.

CUM Quebeco solvimus, erant naves omnino duæ, trecenti nautæ, tum milites, quæ omnia ad expugnandam arcem, quam Hudsonio in sinu tenebant angli. Profecti igitur decimā die augusti an. 1694, vigesimā quartā septembris huc appulimus. Res quidem voti, ipso enim sub itineris fine, ventis adversis usi, imminente frigidissimā hyeme, necnon deficiente aquā, S. Annam, quæ piè imprimis ā Canadensibus colitur patronam apud Deum adhibuimus, voto nos ipsi obstrinximus, triduo post ad terram applicuimus.

Toto hoc navigationis tempore, sacrum facere, cum licebat, pias hortationes identidem habere, preces recitare, palam, manè et sero quotidie, nunc his, nunc illis, multis sanè peccata deponentibus operam dare, mea fuere munia.

Jam vero Hudsonium in sinum devolvunt sese fluvii duo, haud longè à se invicem, alter Borbonius, alter s^tæ^ Theresiæ, dictus: ad hunc sita anglorum

Journey and mission of Father Gabriel Marest to Hudson's bay, on the coast of northern Canada, in the year 1694. Letter to the Reverend Father Thyrso Gonzales, General of the Society of Jesus, at Rome.

QUEBEC, october, 1695.

WE sailed from Quebęc with two ships and three hundred sailors, besides some soldiers, to capture the fort which the english occupied on Hudson's bay. Setting out on the tenth of august, 1694, we arrived here on the twenty-fourth of september. This was surely the effect of a vow; for toward the end of our voyage meeting head-winds, the excessive cold of winter being close at hand, and our supply of water failing, we had recourse to St. Anne,— who is especially reverenced by the Canadians as their advocate with God,— and laid ourselves under a vow to her; and three days thereafter we landed.

During this whole voyage I was occupied in celebrating mass when possible, often giving pious exhortations; in reading prayers publicly every day, morning and evening; and in hearing the confessions of many.

Two streams empty into Hudson's bay at no great distance from each other — one called Bourbon, the other ste. Thérèse. Upon the latter the english fort is situated; into this the smaller of our ships was brought for the winter, while the larger found

arx. Hujusce ipsius in alveum è navibus nostris subducta ad hiemem minor; in Borbonium utpotè altiorem, subducta major; obsessi tum angli, ultro se dedunt, etiam pudendis conditionibus. Continuô actæ Deo solemni ritu gratiæ; erecta crux sublimis, barbarāque hāc in regione adoratum tandem venerandum x^ti vexillum.

Ex quo autem hic versamur, omninò non cessavi: quod effecere tria maximè, concessa à Summo Pontifice plena ad morem anni Jubilæi indulgentia: Paschales feriæ, quæ obvenerunt interea, tum denique exorta contagies. Quare ut omnium pietatem accenderem, accensæ facerem satis, ut ægris adessem, modo ad majorem, modo ad minorem navim aut arcem interdum currendum fuit, non sine summis laboribus. Sæviebat acutum suprā cogitationem frigus, via per dumos, nives, paludosam terram, quæ gelu malè solidata, vestigia passim fallebat, pedes, crura secabat; cubandum fuit sub dio; tentavit me interea febris, necnon et communis morbus, quibus non cedendum tamen existimavi, maximè ne deessem ægris.

Ergo ægrotaverunt multi, obiēre viginti quatuor, quos omnes præter unum et alterum, ecclesiæ sacramentis munivi. Ex his nautæ quatuor, ejuratā prius calvini hæresi. Hactenùs de Gallis; nunc ad naturam loci et indigenas.

Sita arx ad 57 gradum latitudinis; hyems hic pænè continua, puta in septembri ad junium. Quo

shelter in the Bourbon, as the deeper stream. After this the english were besieged; but they surrendered voluntarily, and upon humiliating terms. Immediately we celebrated solemn thanksgiving service to God: the cross was raised on high, and at last in this wilderness honor was paid to the sacred standard of christ.[36]

Since our arrival here I have been busy continually, owing to three causes: the plenary indulgence, granted by the Supreme Pontiff after the custom of the year of Jubilee; the feast of Easter, which occurred meanwhile; and, besides, a plague which broke out. Accordingly, that I might arouse the piety of all, and not fail them in their increase of zeal, and that I might visit the sick, I found it necessary to hasten, not without the utmost hardship, now to the larger ship, then to the smaller, and sometimes to the fort. The cold of winter raged, bitter beyond conception. My way led through storms and snows, and over marshes scarcely frozen firm,—which everywhere afforded but treacherous footing, and cut my feet and legs. I had to sleep beneath the open sky; and meanwhile I was attacked by a fever and the general malady. Still I felt that I must not yield to these lest, above all, I should fail in my duty to the sick.

Many were seized by illness, and twenty-four died,—all of whom, except one or two, I have strengthened by the church's sacraments. Among this number were four sailors, who before their death abjured the calvinistic heresy. So much for the French; now for the nature of this region, and its natives.

The fort is situated at the 57th degree of latitude.

tempore nemo foras exeat impunè. Certe è nostris huic aures, illi nares adustæ, ac mihi quidem obriguit penè crus alterum. Paludosum plerumque solum, ibi arbores paucæ. Virgulta tantum videre, ut vepres, salices, quod autem mirabere, perdices suprà modum frequentes, item anseres, atque imprimis magna vis Caributorum. Caributus penè præter cornua *damæ* planè similis. Barbari indigenæ nihil avenæ colligunt, toti sunt in venatione, quā solā victum sustinent. Nulli apud eos pagi. Vagantur errabundi quà felicior venatus: æstatis tempore ad oras maris propius accedunt. Ubi redit hyems, medias in terras recipiunt sese. Pigra gens, timida, parum ingeniosa, vitio dedita; quod ad religionem, ut captus est Canadensium.

Versus lacum Superiorem his succedunt septem aut octo nationes, quarum illustriores fortitudine, numero, ingenio, *Assinoboeli* et *Krigi*. Morantur illi in pagis ad tres quatuorve menses continuos: quo temporis spatio religionis ch^{næ} præcepta edoceri possent. Ab his spargendi divini sermonis initium habendum esse existimaverim.

Porro ad ediscendam linguam barbarorum hujusce oræ incumbere parùm mihi licuit hactenus, qui operam omnem dare Gallis coactus fuerim; multa tamen verba schedulis excepi: confessionem sanct^{mæ} Trinitatis, Dominicam orationem, Salutationem angelicam, Symbolum ap^{rum}, capita decalogi, versi patrio sermone, ut potui. Ipsis etiam aliquid de

There is here almost continuous winter,— that is, from september to june; and during that time no one can venture out of doors with safety. Indeed, of our party one has frost-bitten ears, another a frozen nose; while one of my legs has become almost stiff. The ground is for the most part marshy, and there are but few trees; only bushes are to be seen, as thorns and willows. But — what will surprise you — partridges, as well as geese, are very abundant; and Caribou, in particular, are found in great numbers. The Caribou is, with the exception of the horns, quite like the *deer*. The savage natives gather no grain, but spend their whole time in hunting, which forms their sole support. They have no villages, but roam about wherever better hunting offers. In summer they come nearer the sea-coast, while with the approach of winter they withdraw into the interior. They are a lazy people, timid, of no great intelligence, and given to vice. As for their religion, it is like that of the rest of the Canadians.

Next to these, toward lake Superior, are seven or eight tribes, of whom the most courageous, numerous, and intelligent are the *Assinoboeli* and *Krigi*.[37] They remain in their villages for three and four months continuously, during which time they might be taught the precepts of the christian religion. I have felt that among them a beginning ought to be made in sowing divine truth.

But I have been, as yet, able to spend very little time in learning the language of the savages on this coast, because I have had to devote my energies to the French people. However, I have made lists of many words; and I have translated into the native

felicitate æternā, cum se dedit occasio, balbutire non defui. Inter eos baptismo lustravi grandiores natu duos, qui statim expiravere; infantes tres, quorum duo pariter paulò post mortui. Alterius infantuli corpus petieram à Patre, more nostro sepeliendum. Annuit ille, ceremoniisque adesse voluit cum multis è suā gente. Obstupescere scilicet barbari, ritus nostros mirari, hoc nostræ in ipsos voluntatis testimonio mirifice capi in relig^em^ ch^am^ benè affici, me ut eos adirem etiam atque etiam rogare. Hæc narrare habui à decimā augusti an. 1694 ad 24 augusti an. 1695.

language, as best I could, the confession of the most holy Trinity, the Lord's prayer, the angelic Salutation, the apostles' Creed, and a summary of the decalogue. Whenever opportunity offered, I have not failed to tell them, although but haltingly, something concerning eternal happiness. Two adults among them I baptized just before their death, also their infants, two of whom died shortly after. The body of one of these I begged from the Father, for christian burial. He consented, and wished to be present at the ceremonies, together with many of his people. Of course, the natives looked on with amazement, wondering at our rites, and were greatly moved by this proof of our good will toward them. They were disposed to look with favor upon the christian religion, and begged me again and again to visit them. This is the account I have to give of events from the tenth of august, 1694 to the 24th of august, 1695.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA: VOL. LXIV

CLIX

This is a letter which, from internal evidence, appears to have been written at Mackinac in 1689, by Étienne Carheil, and addressed to Count de Frontenac. We follow what is apparently a contemporary apograph, in the legislative archives of Quebec; it is one of the "MSS. relatifs à l'histoire de la Nouvelle-France," its press-mark being "Series 5, vol. 5, pp. 2637–2649."

CLX

This account of the defeat of the English at Quebec, in the autumn of 1690, was written by Michel Germain de Couvert. The MS. that we follow rests in the Archives Nationales, Paris, its press-mark being "K 1374, No. 80." It is, however, incomplete, lacking address and date, and, apparently, the opening paragraph; from internal evidence, it appears to have been written at Quebec, in October, 1690. Possibly this MS. is but a contemporary apograph.

CLXI

Jacques Bruyas's letter to Count de Frontenac, written from the "Sault près Montréal," April 5, 1691, we obtain from an apograph in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal. Its place of deposit is a cahier labeled "Quelques lettres."

CLXII

Father Milet's account of his captivity among the Oneidas (dated the octave of the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, or July 6, in 1691) is among the most interesting of the Jesuit documents. The original MS. was discovered in Holland, by Henry C. Murphy, while United States minister to The Hague (1857–61). From an apograph thereof, John G. Shea gave to the public the French text of the document, in his Cramoisy series, no. 18 (Lenox enumeration), a description of which follows: "Relation | de ſa Captivité parmi | les Onneiouts | en 1690–1. | Par le R. P. Pierre Milet de la | Compagnie de Jéſus. | [*Cut with storks*] | Nouvelle-York: | Preſſe Cramoiſy de Jean-Marie Shea. | M. DCCC. LXIV."

Collation: Title, verso blank, 1 leaf; "Avant-Propos," by Shea, pp. iii.–v.—verso of p. v. blank; text, pp. 9–56; no colophon.

An English translation by Shea, who was then editor of the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, was published in that periodical in April, 1888—vol. ii., pp. 183–198; it also appeared at the time as a separate, pages renumbered—8vo., pp. 18. Reference to this publication is made by Sabin, vol. 19, p. 396.

Another translation into English, with twenty-eight notes, a bibliography, and an index, was privately published in May, 1897, by the translator, Mrs. Edward E. Ayer, of Chicago. Following is a description: "Captivity | among the | Oneidas | in 1690–91 | of | Father Pierre Milet | of the Society of Jesus | Edited in French by J. M. Shea | Translated with Notes by | Mrs. Edward E. Ayer | Chicago | MDCCCXCVII."

Collation: Title, p. (1); colophon on verso of title: "Seventy-five Copies have been printed for Mrs. Edward E. Ayer, during May, 1897, by the Blakely Printing Company, Chicago"—also copyright notice; "Contents," on p. v.; verso of p. v. blank; "Preface" (Shea's), pp. vii.–ix.; verso of p. ix., blank; text, pp. 11–59; Notes, pp. 60–66; Bibliographies, pp. 67–69; Index, pp. 70–72. Size, 16mo.

In the present publication, we follow an old French MS. in the Library of Congress, Washington; it is probably a contemporary apograph. Our translation follows that made by Shea, save that we have, pursuant to our custom in the present series, restored all proper names to the spelling and capitalization employed by the writer; and have occasionally introduced emendations necessary to correct defects in the text followed by Shea.

CLXIII

For the text of this memoir recounting the services to the French of the Iroquois converts (written in February, 1692), we have had recourse to a MS. now resting in the Dominion Archives at Ottawa, its press-mark being "Correspondance Générale, vol. 12, pp. 287–290."

CLXIV, CLXV

These two letters by Chauchetière, to brother Jesuits in France, were written at Montreal in 1694—August 7 and September 20, respectively. The location of the originals is unknown, but they are probably in France. Father Martin's apographs of them are now in Quebec; we follow copies

thereof by Father Larcher, which are resting in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal.

CLXVI

In publishing Gravier's journal of the Illinois mission for 1693–94 (dated February 15, 1694, and apparently written at Peoria), we follow Shea's Cramoisy series No. 1, which bears this colophon: "Achevé d'Imprimer à Albany, N. Y. par J. Munſell, ce 31 d'Aouſt 1857." We are unable to say from what source Shea procured his text. No large-paper copies of No. 1 were printed; but James Lenox had a copy inlaid to match the large-paper copies of other volumes of the series, now in Lenox Library. The original price of this volume was $1.50, or seven francs.

A description follows: "Relation | de ce qvi | s'est passé | dans la Mission de l' | Immaculee Conception, | au Pays des Ilinois, | depuis le Mois de Mars 1693, juſqu'en Fevrier 1694. | Par le R. Père Jacques Gravier, de la | Compagnie de Jéſus. | [*Cut with storks*] | À Manate: | De la Preſſe Cramoiſy de Jean-Marie Shea. | M. DCCC. LVII."

Collation: Title, verso blank, 1 leaf; "Table," verso blank, 1 leaf; text, pp. 5–65; colophon, verso of p. 65.

As the above title-page was made up by Shea, to accord with the style of others of his series, and was not a part of the original document, we do not reproduce it.

CLXVII, CLXVIII

These documents are reproduced from Rochemonteix's *Jésuites*, t. iii., pp. 613–620 and 628–630, respectively.

NOTES TO VOL. LXIV

(Figures in parentheses, following number of note, refer to pages of English text.)

1 (p. 23).— This letter was written probably in November, 1689; it was despatched to Quebec by Zacharie Joliet, a trader then at Mackinac. He arrived at Quebec near the end of December, having accomplished the long and perilous journey partly by canoe and partly by land, with but one companion (Charlevoix's *Nouvelle France*, t. i., p. 568; *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vol. ix., p. 463). There is a discrepancy, which cannot be satisfactorily explained, in the endorsement on the document as having been received Sept. 17, 1690. Parkman states that Frontenac acted on information previously received (*Frontenac*, p. 202); and he notes that Charlevoix's version *(ut supra)* "does not conform with the original;" but Monseignat's memoir above cited *(N. Y. Colon. Docs.)* states that a copy of Carheil's letter was sent to Paris in the spring of 1690; and Charlevoix says that the letter was conveyed to Frontenac by Joliet.

Zacharie Joliet was a younger brother of Louis, the explorer; he too studied in the Jesuit college at Quebec. At the age of 28, he married (November, 1678) Marie Niel, by whom he had three children. As she was married to a second husband in November, 1692, Joliet's death must have occurred before that time.

2 (p. 25).— Here occurs a marginal note, added to the MS. probably by some modern archivist: "During the night of August 5, 1689, the village of Lachine was surrounded by 1,500 Iroquois, who put everything to fire and sword, and killed about 400 persons. This is still called 'the Lachine massacre.'"— See Parkman's *Frontenac*, pp. 177–179.

3 (p. 33).— Reference is here made to the Iroquois sent to France for service in the royal galleys (vol. lxiii., *notes* 10, 24).

4 (p. 41).— Denonville (vol. lxiii., *note* 10), proving unequal to the task of dealing with the Iroquois, was recalled in 1689; and in his place was appointed Count de Frontenac, who had been governor of Canada during 1672–82 (vol. lv., *note* 11). The latter now returned with orders from Louis XIV. to attack New York and the New

England frontiers, in order by their conquest to crush the Iroquois. In accordance with these orders, French and Indian war-parties surprised and captured, in succession, Schenectady, Salmon Falls, and Fort Loyal (now Portland, Me.). In retaliation for these injuries, the English colonies sent two expeditions against Canada, late in the summer of 1690 — one by land, against Montreal; the other by sea, against Quebec. The latter was commanded by Sir William Phips, who had, but a few months before, conquered the French settlements in Nova Scotia. Both of these attempts were unsuccessful; and Phips's fleet, on its return voyage, was dispersed by storms — some ships being lost, and many men dying from cold and disease. A detailed account of these events, with numerous citations of authorities, is given by Parkman in *Frontenac*, pp. 187–190, 208–285. Cf. Rochemonteix's *Jésuites*, t. iii., pp. 242–251; also the interesting collection, by Myrand, of nineteen contemporaneous relations of the siege of Quebec — *1690, sir William Phips devant Québec* (Quebec, 1893).

The king of England, James II., had become so tyrannical that his subjects invited William, prince of Orange, — who had in 1677 married Princess Mary of England, James's daughter, — to come to England and deliver them from their ruler. Accordingly, William landed in that country Nov. 5, 1688; James fled to France; and, accepting the request of the people, William and Mary were (Feb. 13, 1689) proclaimed king and queen of England.

5 (p. 53). — Michel Germain de Couvert (Decouvert) was born in Normandy, Jan. 5, 1653. Entering the Jesuit novitiate at Paris, at the age of eighteen (according to Rochemonteix; but twenty, as given in Germain's announcement of his death), he was a student there and at Rouen, and an instructor at Bourges and Alençon, until his ordination in 1687. Three years more were spent as instructor in philosophy, at Arras; he then came (1690) to Canada. He was stationed at the Lorette mission, where he remained twenty years. Compelled by physical infirmities to relinquish this missionary work, he returned to Quebec, about 1710; he remained there until his death, which occurred in October, 1715.

Rochemonteix says (*Jésuites*, t. iii., p. 561) that St. Vallier demanded from De Couvert, superior of Lorette, that he should surrender the church and clergy-house there, built at the expense of the Jesuits, in order that the bishop "might erect it into a parish, and establish therein one of his own priests. Through his love of peace, the timid Father Bouvart, superior-general of the Canada missions, yielded and agreed to this demand; and Old Lorette was transferred to New Lorette, to the great regret of the Huron savages." This removal occurred in 1697 (vol. lviii., *note* 19).

6 (p. 59).—Chevalier d'Aux (d'Eau) was an officer sent by Frontenac to confer with the Iroquois. The irate savages would not listen to him, but seized him as a prisoner, and subjected him to much barbarous treatment; he was then sent to New York, where he was detained by the English until August, 1692, when he found means to escape to Quebec. In the autumn of that year, Frontenac sent him to France with an appeal for additional defenses for Canada.

7 (p. 61).—Jacques le Moyne, second son of Charles (vol. xxvii., *note* 10), was born in April, 1659. In February, 1684, he married Jeanne Carion, then eleven years and five months old; they had three children. Jacques is better known as Sieur de Ste. Hélène. He accompanied his brother Iberville in the Hudson Bay expedition of 1686; and, as a lieutenant in the Canadian militia, won a high reputation for gallantry and enterprise. He was one of the commanders at the attack on Schenectady—referred to in the text as "the day of Corlard." This name is simply a corruption of Corlaer (Curler), the name of the first governor at Orange, or Albany (vol. xxv., *note* 2).

Ste. Hélène's career was a brief one; in one of the skirmishes resulting from Phips's attack upon Quebec he was mortally wounded, and on Dec. 4, 1690, he was buried there at the Hotel-Dieu.

8 (p. 67).—Pierre Milet was born at Bourges, Nov. 19, 1635, and at the age of twenty became a Jesuit novice. His studies were pursued at La Flèche and Paris; and the usual term as instructor was spent at La Flèche and Compiègne. Upon his ordination (1668) he came to Canada, and was soon assigned to the Iroquois missions. He remained therein, mainly at Oneida, until July, 1684—when, with the other missionaries, he was obliged to return to Canada. Soon after, he became chaplain at Fort Frontenac, acting also as interpreter; these duties engaged him during nearly four years (including a year spent at the Niagara fort), until his seizure by the Oneidas in 1689. He remained in this captivity until the autumn of 1694, when the tribe sent him back to Montreal. Little is known of his subsequent life. For a time, he was at Lorette, and he probably ministered, at other places, to the Christian Iroquois settled among the French. In February, 1697, a band of Oneidas came to live at Montreal, and asked that Milet might be assigned to them as missionary. Charlevoix, who was an instructor at the college of Quebec during 1705–09, mentions that he lived several years with Milet, which would indicate that the latter spent his last years at Quebec. He died there, Dec. 31, 1708.

9 (p. 73).—Regarding Otondiata, see vol. xlii., *note* 10.

10 (p. 73).— Philippe Clément Duvault, sieur de Vallerenne (Valrenne), was born in 1655, at St. Germain, France. In 1685 he came to Canada, as one of the captains of troops then sent out for the defense of the colony. Two years later, he married Jeanne Bissot, by whom he had two children. He was commandant at Fort Frontenac in 1689; but, by order of Denonville, abandoned that post in the autumn, returning to Montreal. His name is mentioned several times during the next three years, in connection with the Iroquois war; but no further information about him is available.

11 (p. 79).— Regarding the clans of Indian tribes, see vol. xxix., *note* 6; vol. lviii., *note* 2. Cf. enumeration of clans and totems in *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vol. ix., pp. 1052–1058.

12 (p. 81).— "The five Iroquois nations in their symbolical language formed a cabin, the Mohawks holding the door and the Onondagas the fire. They called themselves as a nation Hotinonsionni (French notation) or Hodenosausee (English notation), meaning 'They form a cabin.'"— Shea's note, in *U. S. Cath. Hist. Mag.*, vol. ii., p. 190. Cf. vol. xli. of our series, p. 87.

13 (p. 91).— "Otasseté was one of the hereditary sachems of the Oneida nation. The title descends in the female line, and Susanna's adoption of Milet apparently enabled her to bestow the name, which made him actually a sachem."— Shea's note, *ut supra*, p. 193.

14 (p. 97).— Denonville, feeling unable to maintain Fort Frontenac, sent orders to Valrenne, its commander, to destroy and abandon the fort. That officer proceeded to do so, but the work of destruction was too hastily performed; and the Iroquois, upon taking possession of the place, found large quantities of stores and munitions — estimated by Frontenac (*N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vol. ix., p. 438) to be worth 20,000 écus. In the following year (1690), Louis XIV. ordered the walls to be razed to the ground. Later, Frontenac obtained permission to restore this post, which he accomplished in the summer of 1695.

15 (p. 99).— "Kinshon, the Fish, by which they meant New England, the authorities of which had sent them a fish as a token of alliance. . . . The wooden image of a codfish still hangs in the State House at Boston, the emblem of a colony which lived chiefly by the fisheries."— Parkman's *Frontenac*, p. 199.

Brodhead (*New York*, vol. ii., p. 309, *note **) says: "As the Iroquois had no labials in their language, they were obliged to say 'Quider' instead of 'Peter;' Hennepin's New Discovery, 24; Colden, i., 16, 116. For this reason, I think it probable that 'Kinshon' was the nearest they could come to 'Pynchon' [ambassador in 1677 from Massachusetts to the Mohawks]. . . . Father Millet . . .

wrongly applies the name *Le Poisson*, or *Kinshon*, to New York instead of to New England."

16 (p. 103).— By "the commissary Kwiter" is meant Peter Schuyler, the first mayor of Albany (incorporated as a city, July 22, 1686). He was long a prominent figure in New York affairs; see *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vols. iii., iv., v., ix., *passim.*

17 (p. 103).— The minister here referred to was Domine Godefridus Dellius, who came from Holland in August, 1683, and was stationed at Albany. He was highly popular with the Indians, and showed much kindness to the Jesuits who instructed the Iroquois. When Jacob Leisler usurped the New York government, Dellius, who had always opposed him, fled to Boston (1690); but, after Leisler's fall (March, 1691) Dellius came back to New York. He often figured in the affairs of the colony, and was several times sent by the governor as envoy to Canada. In 1696, Dellius obtained from a few Mohawk Indians a grant, to himself and others, of the entire territory possessed by that tribe, a grant which was confirmed by Governor Fletcher. That official was succeeded, in April, 1698, by Richard, earl of Bellamont; he recommended to the Assembly that this grant to Dellius should be annulled — which was done in May, 1699, as it was proved that Dellius had obtained the land by fraudulent representations to the Indians. He was, at the same time, deprived of his benefice at Albany; and, his reputation clouded by accusations of lying, drunkenness, and other scandals, he returned to Europe in the same year.— See *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vols. iii., iv., *passim.*

18 (p. 113).— Louis Phelypeaux, comte de Pontchartrain, was born March 29, 1643, the scion of a French house which had, for many generations, been active in the service of the State. Before attaining the age of eighteen, he was admitted as a councilor in the parliament of Paris. In 1677, he was appointed chief president of the parliament of Brittany, and administered with great success the affairs of that province. Ten years later, he became intendant of finance for the whole kingdom; and upon the death of Seignelay, son of Colbert (November, 1690), succeeded him as secretary of state. In 1699, he was relieved of his financial duties, being appointed chancellor of France — a post which he retained until July 1, 1714, when he retired to private life, and to the practice of religious and charitable works. His death took place Dec. 22, 1727. Pontchartrain was a man of great ability, and in his official life displayed patriotic zeal and devotion, strict justice, and unbending integrity; he was fond of letters, and the patron of authors.

19 (p. 119).— Regarding Iberville's exploits at Hudson Bay, see vol. lxiii., *note* 27. He was accompanied, in the expedition of 1694,

by his brother Louis le Moyne, sieur de Châteauguay — born in January, 1676, and slain at Fort Nelson Oct. 4. 1694.

20 (p. 121).— It will be remembered that the Sulpitians had directed the religious affairs of the Montreal colony since 1657, when they came to replace the Jesuits; and that they had been, since 1663, seigniors of the island (vol. xii., *note* 13). The Jesuits reëstablished a residence at Montreal in 1692. The Récollets had preceded them by ten years; Le Clercq relates (*Gaspésie*, pp. 568–571) that in 1682 he went thither, by command of his superiors, to secure a piece of land (which was granted by the Sulpitians) whereon a residence might be established for priests of their order.

21 (p. 135).— The bread here mentioned as "made of medlars or services" was probably composed of the dried fruit of the persimmon (*Diospyros Virginiana*). Gravier, in his *Voyage* of 1700, mentions cakes of *piakimine*, presented to him by the savages — apparently the same as the "bread" described in our text.

22 (p. 139).— Pierre François Pinet was born at Périgueux, France, Nov. 11, 1660; and entered the Jesuit novitiate at Bordeaux, Aug. 29, 1682. He was an instructor at Tulle, Périgueux, and Pau, successively, from 1684 to 1690; he then completed his studies at Bordeaux, and departed for Canada in 1694. He was at first sent to Michillimackinac; but in 1696 he went to Illinois, and founded the mission of the Guardian Angel at Chicago, among the Miami bands located there. This mission was broken up in the following year — according to Jesuit writers, through Frontenac's hostility, but Laval's influence procured Pinet's return thither. The latter went, probably early in 1700, to the Tamaroas, an Illinois tribe located on the Mississippi, not far from the mouth of the Missouri — a place known later as Cahokia. By letters patent of May, 1698, St. Vallier deprived the Jesuits of this mission, bestowing it upon priests sent out by the Séminaire des Missions Étrangères. This proceeding was strongly opposed by the Jesuits, and they did not consent to the change until 1701. Meanwhile, Pinet remained with the Tamaroas (by order of his superiors, according to Rochemonteix) until probably the spring of 1702, and then labored among the Kaskaskias. According to Shea (*Mississippi Voyages*, p. 53, *note*), he died at Cahokia, about 1704.

Rochemonteix's account of Pinet's mission (*Jésuites*, t. iii., pp. 550–554, 568–572) differs in some points from the above; we have followed allusions in contemporary documents, and Shea's account as given in *Church in Colon. Days*, pp. 537–539.

23 (p. 141).— Regarding Pierre Moreau, see vol. lix., *note* 44. Jean Bouillet, sieur de la Chassaigne (Chassagne), a native of Paray,

France, was born in 1659. In 1690, he commanded the garrison at Lachine; in 1698, he became governor of Montreal, and in the following year married Marie Anne, daughter of Charles le Moyne. Later, he was governor of Three Rivers. He died at Montreal in January, 1733.

24 (p. 143).— The Jesuit missions to the Illinois tribes were early extended to the Miamis, located between lakes Erie and Michigan. The St. Joseph River was a favorite route for the voyageurs from Michillimackinac to those tribes, and a site at its mouth was chosen by the missionaries as a suitable location for a residence. They obtained from Denonville a grant upon the river, twenty arpents square (Margry's *Découvertes*, t. v., p. 35). Aveneau was residing there as early as 1690 (vol. lxiii., ***note*** 11).

25 (p. 147).— The two Jesuits who came to Canada in 1694 were Pinet and Gabriel Marest; the latter was the one chosen to act as chaplain for the Hudson Bay expedition of that year.

26 (p. 149).— Reference is here made to Antoine Dalmas, vol. lviii., ***note*** 18.

27 (p. 149).— The word ***basnage*** is not to be found in the standard lexicons. A correspondent suggests that it may be *tournage* — citing for this Rochemonteix's *Jésuites*, t. iii., p. 559, note 1, where the latter word is used in a similar manner, but is not explained. None of the standard lexicons give a meaning of this sort to ***tournage***.

28 (p. 161).— The fort here mentioned was apparently at the same place as La Salle's Fort Crèvecœur (vol. lvii., ***note*** 2), near the present Peoria (St. Cosme, in *Rel. du Mississippi*, Shea's ed., p. 26). Here was located the village of the Peorias and Kaskaskias, to whom Gravier ministered; it had evidently been removed from its earlier location which Marquette visited (vol. lix., ***note*** 42).

29 (p. 161).— The Osages and Missouris are Siouan tribes, who were formerly located on the rivers thus named. A paper by J. O. Dorsey, "Migrations of Siouan Tribes" (*Amer. Naturalist*, vol. xx., pp. 211–222), gives the best available information regarding the origin and history of these peoples. He thinks that, ages ago, all the Siouan race dwelt east of the Mississippi,— in various regions, but as allies,— and gradually moved westward. Five tribes — the Omahas, Ponkas, Osages, Kansas, and Kwapas — were then together as one nation; they were called "Arkansa" by the Illinois tribes, and lived near the Ohio. At the mouth of that river they separated (prior to 1540), the Kwapas descending, the other tribes ascending, the Mississippi. For a long time, the latter abode on the lower Missouri; but finally, having gone farther up that stream, another separation occurred. The Omahas and Ponkas crossed the

Missouri, and, after many wanderings to the north and west, finally settled in Nebraska. The Osages settled on the river bearing their name; and the Kansas on the Kansas River.

The Tamarouas (Tamarois) and Cahokias (Kaoukia) were Illinois bands dwelling on the Mississippi, near the mouth of the Missouri. Their village was known, later, as Cahokia, and the two bands apparently became merged in one. The Jesuit missionaries labored among them until the expulsion of the order from Louisiana (1763–64).

30 (p. 179).— Michel Accault (Ako), who married the daughter of the Kaskaskia chief, was a French trader, who in 1680 was at Fort Crèvecœur with La Salle, and in that year accompanied Hennepin in his voyage on the Upper Mississippi.— Hennepin's *Nouvelle Decouverte* (Paris, 1684), p. 187 and elsewhere.

Shea says (*Church in Colon. Days*, p. 537, *note* 1), regarding Accault: "The records of the baptisms, etc., in his family, beginning Mar. 20, 1695, are the first extracts in the ancient Register of Father Gravier's mission preserved at Alton. They show that the descendants of the young convert of Father Gravier were long prominent in Illinois." An English translation of the entry recording the baptism, on the above date, of Accault's infant son (the first entry in the register) is given by Wallace in his *Illinois and Louisiana*, p. 204.

31 (p. 231).— The fruit here referred to is probably the "sea-bean" or 'Florida bean;" a round, polished, scarlet seed obtained from the West Indian "bead-tree" or "necklace-tree"— *Ormosia dasycarpa*, of the order *Leguminosæ*.

32 (p. 239).— "This letter of Father Jean de Lamberville is found in the British Museum at London — Add: 16913, fol. 173. It is dated Jan. 23, 1695, at Paris, where the Father had resided for three years; and is addressed to a Father, a missionary of the Society of Jesus in China — probably to Father Jean de Fontaney, his friend."— Rochemonteix's *Jésuites*, t. iii., p. 185, *note* 1.

33 (p. 247).— Governor Thomas Dongan brought with him to New York (1683) an English Jesuit, Father Thomas Harvey; and, within a year or two, Father Henry Harrison and Father Charles Gage also were sent thither. The intention of the English authorities in sending these men was to counteract the influence exerted upon the Indians by the French Jesuits, and to form a village of Catholic Indians under English influence. They also acted as chaplains to the governor, and for a time maintained a Latin school. This school was to be the nucleus of a Jesuit college in New York; but all these plans failed, on account of the Revolution in England, and the

consequent usurpation of the New York government by Jacob Leisler (December, 1689). The Jesuits were driven from the colony; but Harvey returned in the following year, and continued his mission for several years, until broken health compelled him to retire to Maryland, where he soon afterward died.

34 (p. 251).— Lamberville refers to Fort Frontenac. He has given a minute account of the combat with Iroquois here mentioned, in a MS. (now in British Museum) printed by Rochemonteix in *Jésuites*, t. iii., pp. 621–627.

35 (p. 257).— A full account of this treacherous deed is given by Parkman (*Frontenac*, pp. 173–176), who ascribes it to a deliberate scheme on the part of Kondiaronk, the noted Huron chief of Michillimackinac, to embroil the French and Iroquois, in order to prevent them from signing a treaty of peace.

36 (p. 263).— The Bourbon River is now known as Nelson River; it is the outlet of Lake Winnipeg, and is navigable for steamers to 127 miles from its mouth. The Ste. Thérèse is now called Hayes River; it enters James Bay not far from the mouth of the Nelson, at Fort York (called in early times Port Nelson).

37 (p. 265).— Reference is here made to the Assiniboine and Cree tribes (vol. xlii., *note* 12; vol. xviii., *note* 15).

The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents

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TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN NEW FRANCE

1610-1791

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN, AND ITALIAN TEXTS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES; ILLUSTRATED BY PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND FACSIMILES

EDITED BY
REUBEN GOLD THWAITES
Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin

Vol. LXV

LOWER CANADA, MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

1696-1702

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PREFACE TO VOL. LXV

Following is a synopsis of the documents contained in this volume:

CLXIX. An unsigned document (probably written by Jacques de Lamberville) gives a brief account of "Canadian affairs in 1696." The leading event of the year is Frontenac's expedition into the Iroquois country. The Onondagas retreat before him. A detachment is sent against the Oneidas. The Christian woman who had saved Milet's life comes to meet the French, with proposals for peace and for the removal of herself and her Christian tribesmen to the reduction at Sault St. Louis; but the French troops, without waiting for the conclusion of this arrangement, rush into the village, which causes the terrified inhabitants to take flight. "Their village was burned, and their indian corn cut down, as at onnontagué." Frontenac and Callières wish to punish the Cayugas also; but the militia are anxious to get home to gather in their harvests, and the expedition—"which has Cost the King more than 50 thousand ecus"—returns to the St. Lawrence, after having captured only an old man, almost blind, and a lame old woman. These are given to the Christian Iroquois, among whom they find relatives; the French troops, however, not only insist that this poor old man be put to death, but they themselves

burn him at a slow fire. "He greatly loved us, and had often given food to the jesuit who now Confessed him and assisted Him at death — encouraging him to suffer bravely, and as a Christian, The torture of fire that they were about to make him endure." Meanwhile, the Mohawks are harrying the French settlements, burning and slaughtering wherever they go.

An extract from a letter by Lamberville describes the condition of affairs at the Sault St. Louis mission. The church therein is prosperous and well organized; but much evil has been wrought among the new Christians by the use of brandy, which is sold to them by the French. The writer describes with enthusiasm the honor paid by devout persons throughout Canada to the tomb of Catherine Tegakwita, and the miraculous cures that are wrought there through her intercession. Among the persons thus benefited are Champigny and Du Luth.

Another letter reports the flourishing state of Gravier's Illinois mission, wherein he counts more than 2,000 baptized persons. The martyrdom of a Christian Iroquois woman, at the hands of her pagan tribesmen, is recounted in detail. At the end of this MS. are written a number of detached and often fragmentary memoranda, relating mainly to business matters — apparently of Montreal habitants, and occasionally of nuns and Jesuits.

CLXX. Crépieul, the Montagnais veteran, describes the "long and slow martyrdom" which constitutes "the Life of a Montagnaix Missionary" — a pathetic record of continual hardship, privation, and danger. The final sentence is truly characteristic: "Suffering and hardship are the appanages of

these holy but arduous missions. God grant that in them may long remain, and die, the useless servant of the missions, François, S.J."

CLXXI. Gravier writes to the late bishop, Laval (September 16, 1697), thanking him for his kind interest in the Western missions, but complaining that Frontenac has driven him and Pinet from their mission at Chicago. He asks Laval to induce St. Vallier to reinstate Pinet in that mission. He also expresses profuse thanks to Laval for the latter's offering to the Illinois mission of silver utensils for the altar — for which Laval has given "almost all his own plate."

Again (September 20, 1698) Gravier writes to Laval to announce the arrival at Mackinac of the priests sent to the Western missions by the Seminary of Quebec. He and his brethren will aid these new missionaries to the best of their ability.

CLXXII. Julien Binneteau, who is stationed in the Illinois mission, writes to a friend (about January, 1699) regarding his difficulties with the Indian medicine-men. They are, however, "polite to the missionaries;" and some of them even resort to the Fathers in illness. The young men are as averse as the medicine-men to the new religion, as it is a check to their licentious lives; but the women are well inclined to the truth, and show great constancy in maintaining their profession. The Father praises certain pious families, who "would be a good example to the best regulated households in France." He eulogizes the abilities and zeal of his colleague, Gabriel Marest, who "is doing wonders." They have three chapels, and are busily occupied in this large village. Binneteau mentions a visit that he

has made to the Tamaroa savages, who live on the banks of the Mississippi. He describes the mild climate of Illinois, and the fruits and the game animals that abound there; also the life led by the savages, their hunting of the buffalo, and their manner of preserving its flesh for food. The women do nearly all the work, while the men live in idleness, which "is the cause of all their debauchery."

CLXXIII. Marest, who is now also among the Illinois, writes to a friend (April 29, 1699) some account of his mission. The number of converts has so increased that a new and larger church has been built. The two Fathers stationed here "have occupation beyond their strength." Marest outlines their labors and responsibilities, which barely leave them time for sleep. The Seminary priests sent to this region visit these Jesuits, who, notwithstanding their poverty, aid them in various ways.

CLXXIV. This is a letter (1699) of Jacques Bigot to a friend, describing the new Abenaki village in Maine where he is now stationed. He is greatly cheered by the fervor and piety of these Christians, various instances of which he recounts. The savages exchange prisoners with the English, and many of the English children piteously beg that they may be allowed to remain with the savages, lest they be perverted from the true faith by returning to their own people. The English attempt, but in vain, to persuade the Abenakis to drive away the French missionaries. Bigot goes to Quebec, to inform the governor of affairs in Acadia; while returning to his mission, he is attacked by a fever, which almost causes his death.

CLXXV. In September, 1700, Jacques Gravier left Chicago for a voyage down the Mississippi, to Iberville's new fort thereon. This journey is described by him in a letter (dated February 16, 1701) to Jacques de Lamberville. Upon reaching Peoria, he finds that the Kaskaskias settled there have resolved to migrate to the shores of the Mississippi — a step which he heartily disapproves, but cannot prevent. The Peoria tribe, also settled there, promise Gravier to remain until his return, and not to change their abode until he and Iberville shall direct them to do so; but he adds, "I am very doubtful whether they will keep their word."

Gravier proceeds with the Kaskaskias — who are accompanied by their faithful pastor, Father Marest — as far as Cahokia, where there is a French trading post. There he embarks with a band of Frenchmen, who are bound for Iberville's fort near the mouth of the Mississippi. Several of the party being attacked by malarial fever, Gravier is able to cure them by a relic and novenas: "a small piece of Father François Regis's hat, which one of our servants gave me, is the most infallible remedy that I know of for curing all kinds of fever." He describes the course of the river; the bluffs, mines, and other features of the region; and the wild animals with which the country abounds. Not far south of the Ohio are seen high banks of sand, in which report has located an iron mine; but Gravier satisfies himself that the sand, although colored like iron, does not contain that metal.

Below the St. Francis River, the Frenchmen meet a band of Arkansas savages, who hospitably entertain them. At the village of that tribe, they hear

of a trader, apparently an Englishman, who had been there the year before. The chief of the savages remembers the visit of Marquette to his town in 1673. When the Father is about to take his leave, the chief urgently requests him to remain a day longer, in order to "sing the calumet" to him; but he declines, knowing that they hope to gain presents from him. Gravier here describes the calumet, and its importance among the savage tribes. At the Tonica River, Gravier halts to visit the Seminary priest Davion, whom he finds ill with fever. He gives various interesting particulars about the tribes of that district, but his efforts to discover their religious rites and superstitions are futile. He finds that the heads of their infants are compressed, in order to flatten them; also that the men till the soil, and do much other work that in Canada is done by the women. Their clothing, dwellings, and furniture are described. "Nothing can be cleaner than their Cabins." They manufacture pottery; some of their jars are "as pretty as any that can be seen in france." They have a small temple, in which fire is kept always burning. During Gravier's visit to Davion, the latter's colleague, St. Cosme, arrives at Tonica; he gives a disheartening account of the Natchez mission, where he is stationed. Among these people human sacrifices are practiced, and they are fire-worshipers. They are ruled not only by a chief, but by his sister, who is called "the sun woman." Gravier returns thither with St. Cosme, and after a short halt resumes his journey; he next visits the Houmas, above the mouth of the Red River. Here he finds the Jesuit Joseph de Limoges, who has just arrived after a disastrous voyage down

the great river, in which the wreck of his canoe causes the loss of all his possessions. The Houmas are brave warriors, but are indolent, amiable, and docile. Their woman chief who died last year was an Amazon, "having in person led several war-parties;" the highest honors were accordingly paid her. These savages have abundance of poultry; but they will not kill or eat a chicken, apparently regarding these creatures as mere curiosities. The customs and dress of these people are described, also the temple in which they keep a perpetual fire.

Our missionary visits the Baiagoulas, who are being punished by famine and disease for an act of treachery committed against an allied tribe. On the lower reaches of the great river, the French find no large game, "and, if we have found a few bustards or wild geese, they have been so lean that they were as tasteless as wood." They are also tormented by the clouds of insects, and depressed by the heavy rains and excessive heat. On December 17, Gravier and his men, after a voyage of sixty-eight days, reach Iberville's fort, of which a picturesque description is given. Provisions are beginning to fail the little garrison left therein; but they patiently await the coming of the ships from France, in March. That entire region is so inundated that it will be necessary to remove the fort to the higher ground farther up-stream. Gravier also visits and describes Biloxi, Iberville's principal post. The Spanish governor of Pensacola visits this fort, and is hospitably received by the French; and they afterward aid him when he is shipwrecked, sending him back to his residence. On his return from Biloxi, Gravier's crew stray from their route, and have much difficulty

in regaining the fort on the Mississippi. He makes various observations on the depth and the rise of the great river, the claims of the English to this region, the search therein for mines, the tribes of savages found there, and the tragic end of La Salle's expedition. Gravier again mentions the terrible plague of mosquitoes in that semi-tropical region. One of his eyes is "so badly stung by them, that I almost lost it."

A postscript to this document, dated in 1702, states that Iberville has abandoned both these forts, and removed his colony to Mobile.

CLXXVI. This is a formal declaration, made by the Jesuit superior at Quebec, of the revenues and estates belonging to the Jesuits in Canada, in October, 1701. Their total income, as here given, amounts to a little more than 13,000 livres a year. This list is followed by a statement of the expenditures which are necessary for their work: the support of forty-eight priests and nine donnés, "almost all of whom are aged and worn out in the missions," besides the wages of fourteen hired servants; the maintenance of the college, residences, and chapels; traveling expenses, and alms to the poor. The order also has to carry a debt of 6,000 livres.

CLXXVII. Étienne de Carheil, who has been long stationed at Mackinac, writes (August 30, 1702) to Governor Callières a long account and vigorous denunciation of the lawless conduct and licentiousness that prevail among both the savages and the French in that region. This wretched state of affairs is due mainly to the traffic in brandy, permission for which "has been obtained from his majesty only by means of a pretext apparently Reasonable, but known to be false." Carheil states that, as this

evil traffic renders useless the labors of the missionaries, they will request their superior to recall them from the Ottawa missions.

The writer arraigns in scathing terms "the two Infamous sorts of Commerce which have brought the missions to the brink of destruction: . . . the Commerce in brandy, and the Commerce of the savage women with the French. Both are carried on in an equally public manner, without our being able to remedy the evil, because we are not supported by the Commandants. . . . All the villages of our savages are now only Taverns, as regards drunkenness; and sodoms, as regards immorality — from which we must withdraw, and which we must abandon to the just Anger and vengeance of God."

Carheil regards the commandants and garrisons as enemies of the missions. "All the pretended service which it is sought to make people believe that they Render to the King is reduced to 4 chief occupations." These are: "Keeping a public Tavern for the sale of brandy," extending this traffic from one post to another, "keeping open house in their dwellings for all the women of their acquaintance," and gambling. As a result, the entire time of the soldiers is spent in drinking, gambling, quarreling, and licentiousness; the savages are scandalized thereby, and the influence of the missionaries upon them is weakened when they see that the latter are powerless to remedy these evils. The above-mentioned occupations are the only ones pursued by the soldiers, who are therefore utterly useless and even pernicious to the country; and without them there would be no commandants — officials who come to Mackinac "solely for trading, without troubling themselves about anything else." They care

nothing for the missionaries, save when they can use the latter for their own selfish purposes; and they arrogate to themselves all authority over both French and savages, which leaves the missionaries without aid. "Before there were any Commandants here, the missionaries were always listened to by the traders," who were afraid of the Fathers. Now, the traders know that their evil acts will be condoned or connived at by the commandants, and they have no fear of the missionaries.

Another grievance of the missionaries is that the commandants secure from the home government allowances for making gifts to the savages. The natural result is, that the latter will now do nothing except in return for presents; and that they learn to employ all sorts of stratagems and intrigues in order to secure these presents, and to cheat the commandants in every possible manner. Carheil hints that the greater part of the fund supplied for this purpose is appropriated by the officials for their own use.

Carheil urges that the garrisons be abolished, as being entirely unnecessary — a statement which he elaborates at length. To them and to their commandants "are due all the misfortunes of our missions." He accordingly urges the governor to inform the king of the present state of affairs, and to ask that no more garrisons be sent to the mission posts. He considers it expedient that the present system of trade be abolished, preferring that the savages should take their peltries down to the French settlements, as in the early days of the fur trade. Carheil also adduces various reasons why this would be for the best interests of the French, who are rendered idle, vagrant, and immoral by the present system. At the same time, "The Iroquois must be completely

tamed and reduced to subjection; and we must take possession of his country, which is much better than That of all the nations up here. . . . His destruction and the possession of his country would secure for us the Trade of all the savage nations up here."

The governor, having asked Carheil for advice, is informed by the latter that he does not approve the proposal to restore to certain private persons the permissions to engage in the fur trade, which were recently abrogated by the king. The very persons whose conduct has already been so scandalous will be the ones who will secure those permissions; and Carheil can see no adequate method of preventing their drunken and licentious acts. He forcibly depicts the various phases of their present immoral mode of life; and urges the governor to use all his influence to check these scandals. He advises that the Canadian company who have secured the right to the fur trade of the Northwest should establish certain trading posts, to be conducted by competent persons, honest and exemplary in morals. He complains that the governor has not forwarded to the court the complaint formulated by the missionaries at Mackinac against Cadillac. A postscript to Carheil's letter states that the Mackinac savages had favored the establishment of the Detroit post, supposing that it would aid them to destroy the Iroquois nation and take possession of their country; but now, seeing that the French are befriending and aiding the Iroquois, the Ottawas and Hurons will have nothing to do with Cadillac's settlement.

R. G. T.

MADISON, WIS., March, 1900.

CLXIX, CLXX

Documents of 1696-97

CLXIX.— Les affaires de Canada En 1696. (With later memoranda.) [Jacques de Lamberville]; n.p., [1696-97]

CLXX.— La Vie d'vn Missionaire Montagnaix presentée aux Successeurs Montagnaix pour Leur instruction et pour leur plus grande consolation. François De crepieul; La Mission de s[t] Xauier á cheg8-timÿ, 21 Auril, 1697

SOURCES: In publishing Doc. CLXIX., we follow a MS. (probably a contemporaneous apograph) in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. Doc. CLXX. we obtain from a MS. volume in the archiepiscopal archives of Quebec, which is described under Doc. CLVII. in Bibliographical Data to Volume LXIII. of our series.

As in Doc. CXXX. (Volume LVII.), words and phrases crossed out in MS. are in Doc. CLXIX. given in Italics; substitutions or additions, in bracketed Roman.

Les affaires de Canada En 1696

laguerre contre les Iroq.

AUX aproches den^re petite armée composée d'habitans du païs, et des troupes du Roy, et de 500 Sauuages tant Hurons, qu'abenaquis et Iroquois Ch^ens etamis letoutfesant enuiron 2200 hões, [cõmandez parle Comtefrontenac gouuerneur] les Iroquois d'onnontagué sesont retirez aprez auoir euxmesme brulé leur bourg qui etoit fortifié et ou Des goiogẏens et des sonnontẏans auoient resolu dese battre contre Les francois, mais un sauuage Iroquois qu'on auoit fait prisonnier *S'est* il yauoit 3 mois les ayant auerti que nos troupes etoient de 6000 hões etqu'une partie uenoit a onnontagué; une autre a goiogẏen, et une autre asonnontẏan les derniers et les goiogẏens quitterent les onnontagues pour aller disoient ils defendre leurpaïs, c'estcequi obligea les onnontagués qui ne se croyoient seuls capables de resister aux françois dabandonner leur fort, pour se refugier a 25 lieües dela vers lemidy, ou ils auoient construit un autre bourg, etouils auoient des champs debled dinde. ils ytransporterent leurs meilleurs effets et abandonnerent ainsi leurs compagnes du 1er. fort, chargés debled dinde a ladiscretion des francois.

Delàsans les y aller trouuer en *a* [leur] nouueau poste, ni les pour suiure acause qui l yauoit trop loin, et que les souliers des soldats etoient usés outre qu'on etoit pressé de reuenir en Canada poury faire les

Canadian affairs In 1696.

The war against the Iroquois.

ON the approach of our little army, consisting of settlers of the country, of the King's troops, and of 500 Savages,—not only Hurons, but abenaquis and Iroquois Christians and friends,—making in all about 2,200 men, [commanded by Count frontenac, the governor,] the Iroquois of onnontagué retreated, after they themselves had burned their fortified village, in which Some goiogwens and sonnontwans had resolved to fight The french. But, on being informed by an Iroquois savage who had been taken prisoner, 3 months before, that our troops numbered 6,000 men, and that a part of them were going to onnontagué, another to goiogwen, and another to sonnontwan, these last people and the goiogwens left the onnontagues, to go, as they said, to defend their own country. This compelled the onnontagués, who did not consider themselves alone strong enough to resist the french, to abandon their fort and retreat 25 leagues to the south, where they had built another village, and where they had fields of indian corn. They conveyed thither their most valuable effects, and thus abandoned their fields at the 1st fort, which were full of indian corn, to the mercy of the french.

Then, without going to seek them in their new post and without pursuing them, since it was at too great a distance, and because the soldiers' shoes were worn out,—and, moreover, all were anxious to return to Canada for the harvest,—a detachment was formed

recoltes on *alla* [fit] un detachem^t^. de 700 hões ycompris 300 Sauuages, pour aller a Onneiȣt eloigné de 12 ou 15 lieües d'onnontagué on yfut en un jour. la fameuse X^enne^. d'onneiout qui [a] fait donner lavie aup. millet alla auec quelq. onneiȣts audeuant des françois et Leur proposa Lapaix, et de venir auec 80 onneiȣts qui etoient dans lebourg demeurer *a* [prez de] montreal auec les Iroquois X^tens^. on y consentit: mais tandisque cette X^enne^. alloit auertir ses gens de venir trouver m^r^. deVaudreüil qui cõmandoit ledetachem^t^. nos gens lasuiuirent [sans attendre reponse] et entrerent tumultuairem^t^. dans onneiȣt, ce qui fit fuir les onneiȣts on brula leur village et on coupa leurs bleds dinde cõe a onnontagué 30 de ces onneiȣts vinrent ensuite se rendre aux Iroquois X^ens^. etaux françois.† voila tout le mal qu'on a fait aux Iroquois en cette expedition qui a Couté plus de 50 mil ecus auRoy. on prit seulem^t^. un vieillard de 80 ans presqu'aueugle, *ausi* [et] une vieille boiteuse aux enuirons d'onnontague ou ils s'etoient cachés *celle cy* l'un et l'autre furent donnez aux Iroquois X^ens^. qui les auoient amenez au Camp. ils se trouuerent parens on donna lavie alaboiteuse *et* [coe] l'ondeliberoit ce qu'on feroit duvieillard que lesfrancois vouloient faire mourir, les Iroquois X^ens^. demanderent qu'on l'assõmast ouqu'on le tuast acoups de Couteau plutost quedelebruler, mais les francois voulurent absolum^t^. quil fust brulé apetit feu, ce quils executerent eux mesme *auec bien delain* [ala vüe deses parens] qui etoient den^re^ parti. je l'auois batisé lorsque jetois a onnontagué lejour des^t^. Thomas dont *je* [on] lui auoit donné lenom. il

† *ondelibera d'aller aux oiogȣens. mr. le gouuerneur et mr. deCalliere en etoient d'auis mais on prit le parti de reue nir aulieu de pousser Jusquà oiogȣen cequi auroit bien auancé la paix.*

consisting of 700 men, including 300 Savages, to go to Onneiout, distant 12 or 15 leagues from onnontagué. They went thither in one day. The famous Christian woman of onneiout who saved father millet's life[1] went with some onneiouts to meet the french, and proposed peace to Them; she also offered to come, with 80 onneiouts who were in the village, to reside *at* [near] montreal with the Christian Iroquois. This was agreed to; but, while the Christian woman was warning her people to come to monsieur de Vaudreuil, who commanded the detachment, our people [without waiting for an answer,] followed her, and tumultuously entered onneiout. This caused the onneiouts to flee. Their village was burned and their indian corn cut down, as at onnontagué. Of these onneiouts 30 afterward came in, and surrendered to the Christian Iroquois and to the french.† This is all the injury that was done to the Iroquois on this expedition, which has Cost the King more than 50 thousand ecus. The french captured only an old man 80 years of age, who was almost blind, *also* [and] a lame old woman, in the neighborhood of onnontague, where they were hidden. *The latter* Both were given to the Christian Iroquois who had brought them to the Camp. These proved to be relatives, and granted the lame woman her life. *And* [While] they were discussing what should be done with the old man, whom the french wished to put to death, the Christian Iroquois asked that he be killed with a club or be Stabbed to death, instead of being burned. But the french peremptorily demanded that he be burned at a slow fire — which they themselves did *with many* —[in sight of his relatives,] who belonged to our party. I had baptized him when I was at onnontagué, on the feast-day of st. Thomas, whose

† *It was a question whether they should go to oiogwens. Monsieur the governor and monsieur de Calliere were of that opinion; but it was decided to return instead of pushing on To oiogwen, which would have greatly furthered peace.*

nous aimoit beaucoup, et auoit donné bien desfois a manger au jesuite qui le Confessa et L'assista alamort l'encourageant a souffrir courageusemt. et Xennemt. Les tourmens dufeu qu'on lui alloit faire endurer il pria dieu assez long temps aprez quoy on Cõmenca de lebruler. cequi etant venu ala connoissce. du Gouuerneur, il eut pitie *deluy et apres d'une heure de tourment* [luy eust fait donner Lavie sil] n'eust pas esté deja tout brulé. cequi fit quelqu'un des assistans touché de compassion lui casser lateste cependant les Iroquois d'agnié ou inferieurs nous ont tüé oupris prisonniers entre les 3 riuieres etlelacSt. pierre sur la riue de fleuue 20 ou 30 personnes, et ont brulé leurs maisons etleurs granges et tué leurs bestiaux. Les onnontaguez tuerent a l'arriére garde de nre armée un Irroquois chen et 2 abenaquis qui s'etoient écartés et [*blank space in MS.*] francois se sont noyés endescendant Les rapides du fleuue.

EN 1696. DELA MISSION DUSAUT St. FR. XAUIER

Ex literis p. Jac de Lamb.

QUATRE denos peres apeine suffisent ils acette mission ouils sont bien employez. C'est une Eglise toutefaiteformée, ou L'on fait tout cõe dans les Eglises paroissiales et plus. car tous les jours les neophytes assistent alamesse; onyfait les prieres du matin et dusoir, on y chante alamesse; on y Confere lebatesme et lesautres sacrents. auec les ceremonies del'Eglise. on garde les dimanches etlesfestes, et tout y est bien reglé. depuis quelquetemps le voisinage desfrancois nuit notablemt. acette Eglise naissante, a cause del'eau devie qu'ils vendent

name *I* had [been] given to him. He greatly loved us and had often given food to the jesuit who now Confessed him and assisted Him at his death,—encouraging him to suffer bravely, and as a Christian, The torture of fire that they were about to make him endure. He prayed to God for a considerable time after which they Began to burn him. When this came to the Governor's knowledge, he had pity *on him*, [and would have granted him His life] *after an hour's torture*, had he not already been burned all over. On account of his condition, one among those who were present, touched with compassion, broke his head. Meanwhile, the Iroquois of agnié, or lower Iroquois, have killed or captured from us 20 or 30 persons, between 3 rivers and lake St. pierre, on the banks of the river; and have burned their houses and barns, and slaughtered their cattle. The onnontaguez killed in the rear-guard of our army a christian Irroquois and 2 abenaquis, who had strayed from the ranks; and [*blank space in MS.*] french were drowned while descending The rapids of the river.[2]

IN 1696. OF THE MISSION OF SAULT ST. FRANÇOIS XAVIER.

Ex literis patris Jacobi de Lamberville.

FOUR of our fathers barely suffice for this mission, where they are busily employed. This is a fully organized Church, in which everything is done as in the parish Churches — and even more, for the neophytes assist at mass every day; the morning and evening prayers are said; there is chanting at mass; baptism and the other sacraments are Administered with the rites of the Church; sundays and festivals are observed; and order prevails in everything. For some time, the neighborhood of the french has caused manifest injury to this nascent Church, on

aux catechumenes et aux nouueaux X^ens^. pour vn mechant Lucre on desole cette nouvelle vigne du seig^r^.

depuis vn an on y abatisé q̃tité d'adultes depuis vn an qui etoient venus dupaïs denos enemis serendre volontairem^t^. icyauec leurs parens Quelques uns pris en guerre par ces Iroquois Ch^ens^ *et amenes cest* [qui les ont amene] icy leur ont procuré lebonheur de deuenir enfants del'Eglise et amis desfrancois a qui ils ont donné de veritables preuues delasincerité de leurfoy.

Catherine Tagakẅita

Dieu continüe d'honorer une bonne fille Iroquoise denation decedée et enterrée en cette mission, Le Ciel accorde quantité de graces à ceux qui implorent son assistance. Les Ecclesiastiques et les laïques y viennent en pelerinage remercier Dieu des faueurs quils ont recües par son Intercession *on y enuoye des presens a cette Eglise* pour marquer a Dieu sareconnoiss^ce^. on enuoyedes presens a l'Eglise ou repose sonCorps. Les paroisses entieres y viennent en procession Solemnellem^t^. aujour annuel desondecez pour rendre graces des diuers effets desaprotection. Pour guerir Les malad*ies*[es] queles remedes ord^res^. ne soulagent point on auale dans del'eau ou dans du boüillon une peu de la poussiere desontombeau. M^r^. De Champigny Intendant enCanada auoit perdulavoix pendant vn an aubout duquel madame l'Intendante ayant fait dire vne neuuaine il recouura tres parfaitem^t^. lavoix. il afait faire plus^rs^. petits tableaux de cette bonne *fille* Sauuage quil distribüe et qu'on garde par estime qu'on ade La s^té^ de cette vierge Iroquoise qui a conserué son Innocence par mi tous les libertinages de

account of the brandy that they sell to the catechumens and to the new Christians. For the sake of vile Lucre, this new vineyard of the lord is desolated.

During the past year, we have baptized here a great many adults who have voluntarily come from the country of our enemies to live here with their kindred. Some were taken in war by these Christian Iroquois, *and brought* [who brought them] hither, and procured for them the happiness of becoming children of the Church and friends of the french, to whom they have given true evidence of the sincerity of their faith.

Catherine Tagakwita.

God continues to honor a pious maiden, an Iroquois by birth, who died and was buried in this mission. Heaven grants a great many favors to those who implore her assistance. Both Ecclesiastics and laymen come hither on pilgrimage, to thank God for the favors which they have received through her Intercession. *Presents are sent to this Church.* In token of their gratitude to God, presents are sent to the Church wherein her Body lies. Entire parishes come to it in Solemn procession on the anniversary of her death, to give thanks for the various results of her protection. To cure The *diseases that* [sick whom] ordinary medicines cannot relieve, they swallow in water or in broth a little dust from her tomb. Monsieur De Champigny, the Intendant in Canada, had lost his voice for a year; at the end of that time, madame the Intendante had a novena made, and he completely recovered his voice. He has caused many small pictures of this pious Savage *maiden* to be made, which he distributes. These are kept through esteem for The holiness of the Iroquois virgin who preserved her Innocence in the very midst of all the riotousness of Impurity. During

Mr. de la Colombiere prestre missre. En Canada tres vertueux Ecclesiastiq. a publié partout que tant *que par les merites de Catharine Tegakŭita, cestoit son nom, il a esté tiré dans une grande maladie des portes delamort L'un et lautre ont esté en pelerinage offrir* a Dieu *en action desgraces des presents aleur liberatrice*

L'Impureté. Pendant 3 ans qu'elle a esté en cette mission, elle Sy afait desigrands progrez enlavertu quelle amerité que Dieu la glorifiast parquantité deguerisons miraculeuses obtenües de Dieu parson moyen M^r^. Du Luth cap^ne^. dans lamarine raporte lui mesme que depuis plus^rs^. années etant fort tourmenté delagoutte, et *mescail* trouuant point desoulagem^t^. a son mal, il fit dire vne neuf^ne^. en l'honneur *deste* [cette] bonne X^enne^ *et quil qui* dont les prieres l'ont entierem^t^. gueri desa goute le 9e. Jour.

DELAMISSION DES ILLINOIS EN 1696 PARLEP. GRAVIER

LEMESME pere Jaq. de Lamberuille ecrit ason frere ences termes. LeP. Gravier qui *depuis* [apassé] 6 ans chez les Illinois est venu a Kebec pourles affaires desamission, il dit quil est raui de laferueur de cette Eglise naissante *il* ou il compte plus de 2000 personnes qu'il y a batisées [et] qui viuent dans lasimplicité etdans lapieté des 1ers. X^ens^. I'l m'en entretenoit tout penetré de Dieu et raui des grands succez que Dieu auoit donné ases travaux, et son regret est den'auoir point de miss^res^. qui lesecourent pour etendre le Royaume de Jesvs X^st^. dans les nations circonuoisines, et qui parlent la mesme langue, [et] qui prient qu'on les vienne Instruire.

DELAMISSION DUSAUT 1696

LE mesme pere continüe salettre ainsi Vous serez bien aise d'aprendre aussi cequi est arriue aune Chretienne Iroq^se^. den^re^ mission dusaut nommée marguerite, qui aesté prise etbrulée *parles* aupaïs des Iroquois ou elle este ēmenée auec son petit enfant

the 3 years that she spent in this mission, she made so great progress in virtue that she deserved that God should glorify her by many miraculous cures obtained from Him through her instrumentality. Monsieur Du Luth, a captain in the navy, himself relates that, after suffering greatly from gout and for many years, and finding no relief for his disease, he had a novena made in honor of *the* [this] good Christian, *and that he* whose prayers obtained, on the 9th Day, the complete cure of his gout.

Monsieur de la Colombiere, a priest and missionary In Canada, and a very virtuous Ecclesiastic,[3] *has proclaimed everywhere that* so great *through the merits of Catharine Tegakwita —that was her name— he was, in a very dangerous illness, snatched from the gates of death. Both went on a pilgrimage to offer presents to their benefactress, in thanksgiving* to God.

OF THE ILLINOIS MISSION IN 1696, BY FATHER GRAVIER.

THE same father Jaques de Lamberville writes to his brother in these terms: "Father Gravier, who *during* [has spent] 6 years among the Illinois, has come to Kebec on business connected with his mission. He says that he is delighted with the fervor of that infant Church, *he* wherein he counts over 2,000 persons whom he has baptized, [and] who live in the simplicity and piety of the 1st Christians. While speaking of this to me, he was wholly penetrated with the thought of God, and was delighted with the great success that God had granted to his labors; and his chief regret is that he has no missionaries to help him in extending the Kingdom of Jesus Christ among the surrounding nations, who speak the same language, [and] beg us to go to Instruct them."

OF THE MISSION OF THE SAUT, 1696.

THE same father continues his letter as follows: "You will also be pleased to hear what happened to a Christian Iroquois of our mission at the saut, named marguerite, who was captured and

d'un an. Dabord on *ladepouilla* [on lui coupa] plus^rs^. doigts et on lui fit des incisions partout leCorps sans jamais seplaindre. celui qui etoit present acespectacle raconte qu'ayant esté ensuite toute couuerte desang conduite *en une* [a la] Cabane ou Lon deuoit exercer sur son corps denouueaux tourments, elle y trouua une femme francoise *capt* a qui les Iroquois auoient donné Lavie, qui s'etant aprochée de cette captiue L'exhorta desouffrir patiemment les maux qu'on luy fesoit endurer, et deles offrir a Dieu: elle repondit qu'elle auoit depuis longtemps demandé a Dieu d'estre maltraittée en cette vie pour expiei ses pechez, et pour estre plus semblable a J. C. Un francois captif suruint qui lui donna un peu d'etoffe pour se couurir, et L'encouragea dans La conjoncture present definir ses jours en veritable X^enne^. et depenser souuent au Ciel tandis qu'on la bruleroit apetit feu.

aussitost quelle fut aupoteau ou l'on l'alloit attacher elle semit a genoux, et pria dieu tout haut pour [elle et pour] ses Ennemis, *et pendant* [puis s'etant leuée ellefut Attachée aupoteau ou pendant] qu'on lui appliquoit les fers ardants, elle ne cessoitpoint deprier et d'inuoquer le Ciel. tantost s'adressant a Dieu, t^ost^ alas^te^. vierge, et tantost exhortant ses compatriotes Iroquois d'embrasser lafoy. apres quelle fut brulée partout le Corps, *on* [et qu'on] lui [eut] enleua [toute] lapeau delateste, *et* [on] la delia; aulieu de courir ça etla *pour* [coe] il arriue aux captifs qu'onbrule elle s'agenoüilla encor aupied desonpoteau, outandis quelle continuoit sapriere, *ses bourreaux* [quelques uns des assistants] lui donnerent plus^rs^. coups deleuier [et de pierre] surlateste pour

burned *by the* in the Iroquois country, to which she was carried with her little child, a year old. In the first place, they *deprived her of* [cut off] several of her fingers and slashed her all over the Body, while she uttered not a groan. He who was present at the spectacle relates that, when she was afterward taken, all covered with blood, *into a* [to the] Cabin where fresh tortures were to be inflicted on her body, she found there a french woman, *a captive*, whose life the Iroquois had spared; and who approached the captive, and exhorted Her to bear patiently the sufferings that she was made to endure, and to offer them to God. She replied that she had long ago asked God that she might be ill-treated in this life, in order to expiate her sins and to more resemble Jesus Christ. A captive frenchman came, and gave her a small piece of cloth wherewith to cover herself; and he encouraged Her in This emergency to end her days as a true Christian, and to think often of Heaven while she was being burned at a slow fire.

"As soon as she reached the stake to which she was to be tied, she knelt, and prayed aloud to God for [herself and for] her Enemies; *and while* [then, on rising, she was Tied to the stake,—where, during the time while] they applied heated irons to her body, she ceased not to pray and to invoke Heaven. At times, she addressed herself to God, at others to the blessed virgin; and, at others still, she exhorted her Iroquois countrymen to embrace the faith. After her whole Body had been burned, [and] her [entire] scalp *was* [had been] removed, *and* she was untied. Instead of running hither and thither, *for* [as] captives who are burned generally do *so*, she knelt once

luy *faire finir* [oter lavie], mais en vain; cequi fit dire aux spectateurs *que* par derision qu'on nepouuoit faire mourir les X^ens^. et quils etoient *tout* [des] esprits. l'vn d'eux setant auancé auec vne bayonnette l'en frappe [aubas delestomak] disant je la ferai bien mourir, mais etlui et les assistans furent bien surpris *quelle se rompit* de [la] voir [ouiln'yapointdos] *que* rompüesans s'enavoir pû blesser. cette pauure victime recõmença tout denouueau *ses prieres* [se] recommander en cet etat a Dieu *en* dont elle Imploroit lamisericorde et lepardon deses pechez auec des paroles qui attendrirent *les* [quelques uns des] assistans. on lui dechargea ensuite quantite de coups degros bâtons surla teste *mais inut* pour l'acheuer mais inutilem^t^. cequi leur fit amasser quantité debois dontils la couurirent entierem^t^. et luy firent *finir* [en fin] son martyre parlefeu. Trois jours aprez lamort dela mere son petit enfant fut abandonné par celle a qui [on] l'auoit donné pensant quelle l'adopteroit pour son fils mais ladifficulté quelle vit bien quellauroit deleleuer acause quil *etoit encor alamamelle* [auoit besoin d'vne nourrice], *elle* [la fit resoudre de] le *fit* [faire] porter dauprez d'vn feu *pour y estre brulé*. personne n'eut assez debarbarie pour lebruler. mais voyant quil appelloit incessãment samere lui tendant les bras cõe sil l'eust vüe et *quil* leust apellée pourlevenir querir, on lui cassa lateste surl'heure. les Chr^ens^ que nos miss^res^. auoient autre fois instruits enla Religion X^enne^. *dont* dans ce païs ennemy dirent que cette bonne fe. X^enne^. qui auoit esté brulée, auoit obtenude Dieu lamort desonfils *qui* [dont lame] s'envola auec samere dans le Ciel, depeurquesil eust

more at the foot of the stake — where, while she continued her prayers, *her torturers* [some of those who were present] struck her on the head several times with bars [and stones], to *make an end of* [kill] her; but in vain. This made the spectators say *that*, in derision, that Christians could not be killed, and that they were *only* spirits. One of them came forward with a bayonet, and struck her with it [in the lower part of the stomach], saying: 'I will soon kill her.' But both he and the spectators were greatly surprised *that it broke* on seeing *that*, [it] [in a place where there were no bones] *it was* broken, without power to inflict a wound. The poor victim once more began *her prayers* to commend [herself] in that condition to God, whose mercy and forgiveness she Implored for her sins, in words that excited the compassion of [some of] the spectators. They afterward struck her many blows on the head with heavy clubs to despatch her; but in vain. This led them to collect a quantity of wood, with which they completely covered her; and they [finally] brought her martyrdom to an end by fire. Three days after the death of the mother, her little child was abandoned by the woman to whom he had been given with the idea that she would adopt him for her son. But the difficulty that, she saw, she would have in rearing him, because he *was still at the breast* [required a nurse], *she* [made her resolve to] *have him put* carry him near a fire, *that he might be burned therein.* No one was barbarous enough to burn him; but, as he continually cried for his mother, holding out his arms as if he saw her and were calling her to come to get him, they broke his head on the spot. The Christians whom our missionaries had formerly instructed

vescu plus longtemps, il ne fust deuenu meschant parmi les Infidelles.

[Memoranda attached to the document:]

1697

varia

Hatitsihenstatsi

m^r^. Peiré associé auec m^r^. Birré.

Leur nauire de 24 canons cōmand parlesieur Lagrange leurs offres.

Davaugour

Procurãon. pour La succession de m^r^. Sorel

2. M^r^. Hazeur

3. garontog eun

1697.

monenda. P. Chollet les 600ll de garontog Mr. hazeur ditq. 36 n'auoit pas bien compris &c. haoienk.

nullus juuat rem familiarē in Gallia, Kebeci imo &c.

ōes petunt nemo juuat vt habeatur

cesont les hati isi htsi qui ont voulu queladiminūon delarente des VV necōmençast qu'en 1696

les VV. gouuernent mieux leurs aff. [elles] *on* nanticipent sur lannée suiuante

nepense a Kebec qua *se tirer et* seretranchent pour euiter les detes etleur ruine enfin cōe les filles dus^t^. sacrem^t^. les VV. me prient denepoint emprunter d'argent pour elles. elles prennent leur provisions surlepuis ni u[i]n ni vinaigre ni

M^R^. HAZEUR 1697

leP. Bruya

Il ecrit que c'est vn mal entendu que Je n'ai pas compris dans ses compts (il se trompe lui mesme) il m'en ecrit et m'endonne la Clef. Lep. Bruyas et

in the Christian Religion, *of which* in that country of our enemies, said that the good Christian woman who had been burned had obtained from God the death of her son, *who* [whose soul] soared with his mother['s] to Heaven — lest, had he lived longer, he might have become wicked among the Infidels."

[Memoranda attached to the document:]

1697.

Varia:

Hatitsihenstatsi.

Monsieur Peiré associated with monsieur Birré.

Their ship of 24 guns commanded by sieur Lagrange; their offers.

Davaugour.

Procuration for monsieur Sorel's succession.

2. Monsieur Hazeur.

3. garontog eun.

1697.

Nullus juvat rem familiarem in Gallia, Kebeci imo etc. omnes petunt nemo juvat ut habeatur.

Monenda: *Father Chollet; the 600 livres of garontog; Monsieur hazeur says that 36 had not well understood etc. haoienk.*

It is the hati isi htsi who desired that the diminution of the rent of the Ursulines should commence only in 1696.

The Ursulines manage their affairs better. They do not anticipate on the following year.

At Kebec they think only of *saving themselves and* retrenching to avoid debts and their ruin. Finally, like the Nuns of st. sacrement, the Ursulines beg me not to borrow money for them. They take their provisions from the well — neither wine, nor vinegar, nor

Raffeix me mandent que Je satisfasse M^r^. grignon et hazeur empruntant delargent du P. bigot et cequil luy doit reuenir p^r^. La mission dusaut

Cest chez m^lle^. Girardin demeurant chez M^r^. Poquelin rüe du gros chenet que l'on payera les 300ll. pour lefils dem^r^. Hazeur Jesuite

P. Garontoguennen

L'offre de M^r^. deniset

Procuration nouvelle enuoyée a vn autre qu'a m^r^. fale

S'il apayé 3000. il les atirees sur nous.

Le plus depensé que recu

MONSIEUR HAZEUR 1697.

Father Bruya.

He writes that it is a misunderstanding, which I have not included in his accounts (he is himself mistaken). He writes and gives me the Key to them. Fathers Bruyas and Raffeix write me to pay Monsieur grignon and hazeur, by borrowing money from Father bigot, and what ought to come to him from The Saut mission.

It is at mademoiselle Girardin's, who resides at Monsieur Poquelin's, rüe du gros chenet, that the 300 livres will be paid for the son of Monsieur Hazeur, a Jesuit.[4]

P. Garontoguennen.

Monsieur deniset's offer.

New procuration, sent to another than monsieur fale.

If he has paid 3,000, he has drawn on us for the amount.

More expended than received.

La Vie d'vn Missionaire Montagnaix presentée aux Successeurs Montagnaix pour Leur instruction et pour leur plus grande consolation

par Le p. François De crepieul Jésuite et Seruiteur inutil des Missions du canada depuis 1671 iusqu'a 1697 — qui acheue le 26 hiuernement dans L'Emplois de La Mission de Tadoussak, et le 4e d La Mission de st Xauier d chegȣtimÿ 21 Auril 1697 —

LA Vie d vn Missionaire Montagnaix est vn Long et lent Martÿre —

Est vn exercice préq3 continüel de patience, et de Mortification —

Est vne vie vraÿment pœnitente, et Humiliante sur tout dans Les cabanes, et dans Les chemins auec Les Sauuages —

1 La cabane est composée de perches, et decorces de Bouleau, et entourée de Branches de Sapins qui couurent la Neige, et La Terre gelée —

2 Le Missionaire préque tout le jour est assis, ou á genoux exposé á vne fumée quasi continüelle pendant L Hÿuer.

3 Quelque fois il süe de jour, et le plus souuent il á froid pendant La Nuit — il couche vestu sur La Terre gelée, et quelquefois sur la Neige couuertes de quelques Branches de Sapins assés rudes —

4 il mange dans vn ȣragan plat assés rarement net ou laué, et le plus souuent essuié auec vne peau grasse, ou Leché par Les chiens — il mange quand il ÿ a de quoÿ manger, et quand on luÿ en present —

The Life of a Montagnaix Missionary, presented to his Successors in the Montagnaix mission for Their instruction and greater consolation.

By father François De crepieul, Jesuit, and an unprofitable Servant of the Missions of canada from 1671 to 1697,—which completes the 26th wintering in The Service of The Tadoussak Mission, and the 4th at The Mission of st. Xavier,—at chegoutimÿ, April 21, 1697.

THE Life of a Montagnaix Missionary is a Long and slow Martyrdom;

Is an almost continual practice of patience and of Mortification;

Is a truly penitential and Humiliating life, especially in The cabins, and on journeys with The Savages.

The cabin is made of poles and Birch-bark; and 1
Fir-Branches are placed around it to cover the Snow and The frozen Ground.

During nearly all the day, The Missionary remains 2
in a sitting or kneeling position, exposed to an almost continual smoke during The Winter.

Sometimes he perspires in the day-time and most 3
frequently is cold during The Night. He sleeps in his clothes upon The frozen Ground, and sometimes on the Snow covered with Fir-Branches, which are very hard.

He eats from an *ouragan* (dish) that is very seldom 4
clean or washed, and in most cases is wiped with a greasy piece of skin, or is Licked by The dogs. He

Quelquefois La viande n'est que demÿ cuitte; Quelquefois elle est fort dur, sur tout La Boucanée: sechée á la fumée pour lordinaire on ne fait q vne fois chaudiere; et au temps d'abondance deux fois, mais il ne dure guer —

5 Les Souliers sauuages, et la peau des chiens luÿ seruent de seruiettes; comme font les cheueux aux Sauuages, et aux Sauuagesses —

6 La Boisson ordinaire est L eau de Ruisseau, et de quelq⁹ chares quelque fois de la neige fondüe, ou du Buillon pur, ou auec de la neige dans vn 8ragan d'ordinair assés gras —

7 Souuent il brule ses habits, ou sa couuerte, ou ses Bas pendant La Nuit, sur tout quand La cabanne est petite, ou estroitte — il ne peut s'estendre, mais il se retressit; et il á la Teste contre la Neige couuerte de Sapins, qui refroidit bien le cerueau, et luÿ cause des maux de dents etc —

8 il couche tousiours vétu; et il ne demet sa Sotanne et ses Bas que pour se deffendre de La vermine, dont Les sauuages sont tousiours riches, sur tout Les Enfans —

9 Le plus souuent á son reüeil il se trouue entour de chiens — ie me suis trouué quelquefois parmy 6 — 8 et 10 —

10 La Fumée est quelquefois si violente qu'elle le fait pleurer, et quand il se couche il semble qu'on ait ietté du sel dans Les ÿeux; et á son Reueil il á bien de la peine á les ouurir —

11 A La Fonte des Neiges quand il marche sur des Lacqs, ou de longues Riuieres, il est tellement esblouÿ pendant 4 á 5 jours par l'eau continüelle qui luÿ tombe des ÿeux, qu'il ne peut lire son

COUNTRY NORTHWEST OF LAKE ST. JOHN, P.Q.

[Reduced facsimile, except that the lettering has been improved for legibility, of original manuscript Jesuit missionary map, probably made about 1695, and preserved in archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal.]

eats when there is anything to eat, and when some is offered to him. Sometimes The meat is only half cooked; Sometimes it is very tough, especially when Smoked (dried in the smoke). As a rule, they have a good meal only once — or, when provisions are abundant, twice; but it does not last long.

The savage Shoes, or the dogs' hairy skins, serve him as napkins, as the hair of the Savage men and women serves them. 5

His usual Beverage is water from the Streams or from some pond — sometimes melted snow, or Broth, pure or mixed with snow, in an *ouragan* that is usually quite greasy. 6

He often scorches his clothes, or his blanket, or his Stockings during The Night — especially when The cabin is small or narrow. He cannot stretch himself, but he curls himself up, and his Head rests upon the Snow covered with Fir-branches; this chills his brain, and gives him toothache, etc. 7

He always sleeps with his clothes on, and takes off his Cassock and his Stockings only to protect himself against vermin, which always swarm on The savages, especially The Children. 8

Usually when he awakes he finds himself surrounded by dogs. I have sometimes had 6, 8, or 10 around me. 9

The Smoke is sometimes so strong that it makes his eyes weep; and when he sleeps he feels as if some one had thrown salt into His eyes; when he Awakes, he has much difficulty in opening them. 10

When the Snow Thaws, while he is walking upon Lakes or long Rivers, he is so dazzled for 4 or 5 days by the water that drops continually from his eyes that he cannot read his Breviary. Sometimes he 11

Breuiaire — quelquefois il faut le mener par La Main — cela est arriué au p. Siluÿ, au p. Dalmas, et á moÿ qui en chemin ne voiois que le bout de mes Raquettes.

il est souuent importuné des petits Enfans, de leurs crÿs, de leurs pleurs etc. et quelquefois il est incommodé de la püanteur de ceux, et de celles qui ont les Ecroüelles, auec qui mesme, il Boit d'vne mesme chaudiere — J'aÿ passé plus de 8 jours dans La cabane de Kaȣitaskaȣat Mÿstassin le plus considerable, et couché auprés de son Fils incommodé, dont la püanteur ma souuent fait soüleuer le cœur de jour, et de Nuit — i aÿ beü, et mangé aussy dans son ȣragan —

il est quelquefois reduit á ne boire que de L'eau de neige fondüe qui sent la fumée, et elle est assés salle — L espace de 3 Sepmaines ie n'en aÿ pas bü d'autre estant auec des Estrangers dans Les Terres de peoKȣagamÿ — Je n'aÿ pas vü de Sauuages plus sals á manger, á boire, et á coucher que ceux Lá souuent la viande estoit pleine de poils d'orignal ou de Sable — Vne vielle prenoit á pleine main auec les ongles tres longs la graisse dans La chaudiere ÿ aÿant ietté de la Neige; et puis elle nous la presentoit á manger dans vn ȣragan tres sal: et chacun beuuoit du Bouillon de La mesme chaudiere —

pendant lesté dans les Voiages, sur tout dans Le Saguenaÿ, et sur le grand Fleuue il boit assés souuent de L'eau bien sallee qu'on trouue dans quelq3 Mares — depuis 3 jours que le vent nous arrete, nous n'en beuuons pas dautre — quelquefois Le vent l'oblige á se sauuer dans des Lieux, ou on n'en trouue pas du tout — cela m'est arriué plus d'vne et 3 fois —

has to be led by The Hand. This has happened to father Silvÿ, to father Dalmas, and to myself; while on the march I could not see farther than the edge of my Snowshoes.

He is often annoyed by little Children, by their 12
cries, their weeping, etc.; and sometimes he is made ill by the stench of those who have Scrofula, with whom he even Drinks out of the same kettle. I have spent more than 8 days in The cabin of Kawitaskawat, the chief man among the Mÿstassins, and have slept near his Son, who was troubled with that disease; and the stench from him often caused me nausea, both day and Night. I have also eaten and drunk from his *ouragan.*

He is sometimes reduced to drinking only water 13
obtained from melted snow, which smells of smoke and is very dirty. For 3 Weeks I have drunk nothing else, while I was with Strangers in The Region of peokwagamÿ. I have never seen Savages dirtier than these, as regards eating, drinking, and sleeping. Among them the meat was often covered with moose-hairs or Sand. An old woman, with her long nails, gathered up handfuls of grease in The kettle into which Snow had been thrown, and then offered it to us to eat, in a very dirty *ouragan;* and all drank Broth out of The same kettle.

In the summer-time, while Traveling, especially 14
on The Saguenaÿ and on the great River, he often drinks The very dirty water obtained from Ponds. During 3 days, while detained by contrary winds, we drank no other water. Sometimes The wind compels him to take refuge in Places where there is none at all. This has happened to me more than once — indeed, more than 3 times. I have even been

j'aÿ mesme souuent esté obligé de boire dans des Mares, ou ie Voiois des crapaux etc.

15 Le plus souuent pendant l hÿuer dans les chemins quoÿ que longs, et difficils, il ne trouue point vne goutte deau pour se rafrechir quoÿ qu'epuisé de süeurs, et de fatigues —

16 il endure beaucoup de froid, et de fumée, auant que La cabanne soit acheuée, pendant 2 á 3 heures que le Temps est tres rude l'hÿuer. La chemise qui à esté trempée de süeurs, et ses bas mouillés le rendent comme Morfondu auec La Faim qu'il souffre, le plus souuent n'aÿant mangé q vn morceau de viande seche, auant qu'on decabanne —

17 La souffrance, et La Misere sont les appanages de ces stes. et penibles Missions — faxit Deus vt iis diu immoretur, et immoriatur Seruus Inutilis Missionum Franciscus S.J —

[The following memorandum occurs in the original MS., near the beginning of this section: " 1690 20 jull. á KaNeskat ex casâ J-B. ßsti'ßanich Dnis Tadussacensis á mÿ chemin de Tadoussak et de La Riuiere de L Assomption aux papinachois."]

obliged to drink from Ponds in which I Saw toads, etc.

In most cases during winter, while on long and difficult journeys, he does not find a drop of water wherewith to quench his thirst, although exhausted with toils and fatigues. *15*

He suffers greatly from cold and from smoke, before The cabin is finished, for 2 or 3 hours when the Weather is very severe in winter. His shirt, which is wet with perspiration, and his soaked stockings, render him Benumbed with cold; he suffers also from Hunger, because in most cases he has had nothing but a piece of dried meat, eaten before camp was struck. *16*

Suffering and Hardship are the appanages of these holy but arduous Missions. *Faxit Deus ut iis diu immoretur et immoriatur Servus Inutilis Missionum Franciscus, S. J.* [God grant that in them may long remain and die the Useless Servant of the Missions, François, S.J.] *17*

[The following memorandum occurs in the original MS., near the beginning of this section: "1690, july 20, at KaNeskat, from the house of J. B. Ousti'wanich, the Tadoussac Chief, midway between Tadoussak and The River de L'Assomption, among the papinachois."]

CLXXI—CLXXIV

Documents of 1698-99

CLXXI.—Deux lettres du P. Jacques Gravier à Monseigneur de Laval. A Ville-Marie, le 17e. Septembre, 1697; De la mission de St. Ignace a Michilimakinak, ce 20 septembre, 1698

CLXXII.—Lettre du P. Julien Binneteau, de la Compagnie de Jéſus, à un Père de la même Compagnie. Du Pays des Ilinois, [Janvier,] 1699

CLXXIII.—Lettre du P. Gabriel Mareſt, de la Compagnie de Jéſus, à un Père de la même Compagnie. Du Pays des Illinois en la Nouvelle-France, le 29 Avril, 1699

CLXXIV.—Lettre du Père Jacques Bigot, de la Compagnie de Jéſus, à un Père de la même Compagnie. Du Pays des Abnaquis, [26 Octobre,] 1699

SOURCES: The first letter (September 17, 1697) in Doc. CLIX. we have from the original MS. in Laval University, Quebec; the second (September 20, 1698), we take from *L'Abeille*, vol. 7, no. 13. Docs. CLXXII.–CLXXIV. we take from Shea's Cramoisy series, no. 20.

Deux lettres du P. Jacques Gravier à Monseigneur de Laval.

MONSEIGNEUR.

Je supplie Vostre Grandeur de me pardonner la liberté que ie prends, de luy demander encore sa benediction qui m'attirera celle de Dieu pour arriuer heureusement á ma chere Mission: apres vn si long exil: rien ne me la plus adouci, Monseig^{r}. que la bonté que Vostre Grandeur a eüe de vouloir bien me témoigner dans les visites que i'ay pris la liberté de luy rendre, qu'Elle y prenoit part. Si Monseigneur de Quebec à pour nous les mesmes Sentimens, comme Nous l'esperons tous, Nous ferons nos fonctions dans nos Missions Outaoaises plus paisiblement que Nous n'auons fait depuis quelques années, Et nous serons á couuert des menaces que nous fait Monsr. le Comte de Frontenac, de nous chasser de nos Missions comme il á desia fait, de celle de l'Ange gardien des Miamis, à Chicagoa, dont Monseigneur de Quebec m'a confié le soin par ses patentes, en me confiant le soin des Missions des Ilinois, des Miamis et des Scious, et confirmant le pouuoir que Vostre Grandeur auoit donné au P. Marquette, et au P. d'alloüés qui sont les premiers Missionnaires de ces nations du Sud. Si Monsieur le Comte de frontenac á appris que dans nos Missions nous ayons fait quelque chose indigne de Nostre Ministere, il á bien pû s'addresser á Monseigneur L'Euesque ou a son

Two letters by Father Jacques Gravier to Monseigneur de Laval.

MONSEIGNEUR,

I beg Your Grace to pardon the liberty that I take in asking once more for your blessing, which will call down upon me that of God, to enable me to reach my beloved Mission in safety after so long an exile. Nothing has more comforted me, Monseigneur, than the kind manner in which Your Grace was pleased to manifest to me, during the visits that I took the liberty of paying you, that You felt an interest in that mission. If Monseigneur of Quebec[5] has the same Sentiments for us, as We all hope, We shall perform our duties in our Outaoais Missions more peacefully than We have done for some years. We shall also be safe from the threats of Monsieur the Count de Frontenac to drive us from our Missions, as he has already done from that of l'Ange gardien of the Miamis, at Chicagwa,—the charge of which Monseigneur of Quebec had confided to me, by his patents giving me the care of the Missions to the Ilinois, Miamis, and Scious, and confirming the powers that Your Grace had conferred upon Father Marquette and Father d'alloués, who were the first Missionaries to those Southern nations.[6] If Monsieur the Count de frontenac had learned that in our Missions we had done anything unworthy of Our Ministry, he could easily have applied to Monseigneur The Bishop or to his

grand Vicaire; Mais il n'a pû que par violence nous chasser de Nostre Mission de Chikagŏa, et nous esperons que Monseigneur de Quebec ne souffrira pas vne telle violence si prejudiciable a son authorité; et que si vostre Grandeur veut bien luy en parler, il rétablira et confirmera le P. Pinet dans sa Mission pour y continüer ses fonctions qu'il á si heureusement commancé.

Au reste, ie ne dois pas attendre que le beau ciboire dont vostre Grandeur fait present a la Mission des Ilinois, soit fait, pour l'en remercier au Nom de ces pauures sauuages; C'est vostre Mission, Monseigneur, puisqu'elle est sous la protection de L'Immaculée Conception de Nostre Dame, que Vostre Grandeur á choisi pour le jour de son sacre, et qu'elle á prise pour la Patrone de tout son diocese; Et le Pere Marquette ne pouuoit rien faire de plus conforme á L'intention de Vostre Grandeur, que de mettre la Mission des Ilinois sous la protection de L'Immaculée Conception de Nostre Dame; Et quoyque vous ayéz toujours esté le pere de toutes nos Missions, celle cy, Monseigneur, vous doit estre attachée tout particulierement, et parceque c'est la Mission de L Immaculée Conception de la Vierge, et par le beau present que vous luy faites. Ne doit'on pas croire que le Ciboire que Vostre Grandeur luy donne, est d'vn grand prix, puisqu'il faut fondre toute sa vaisselle d'argent pour le faire? Aussy nous sera t'il infiniment precieux, et nous ne pourrons rien auoir dans nos Missions, que Nous estimons d auantage. Vne escuelle qui vous auoit seruj si long tems, Monseigneur, Car c'est lá toute

grand Vicar. But he could not otherwise than by violence drive us from Our Mission of Chikagwa, and we hope that Monseigneur of Quebec will not suffer such violence, which is so prejudicial to his authority. And if your Grace will be good enough to speak to him of it, he will reinstate and confirm Father Pinet in his Mission, that he may there continue his duties, which he has so auspiciously begun.

Moreover, I must not wait until the fine ciborium presented by your Grace to the Ilinois Mission is made, to thank you for it in the Name of these poor savages. It is your Mission, Monseigneur, since it is under the protection of The Immaculate Conception of Our Lady, whose feast Your Grace chose for the day of your consecration, and whom you have taken as the Patroness of your entire diocese; And Father Marquette could do nothing more conformable to Your Grace's intentions than to place the Ilinois Mission under the protection of The Immaculate Conception of Our Lady. And, although you have ever been the father of all our Missions, this one, Monseigneur, must be especially dear to you — both because it is the Mission of The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, and because of the handsome present that you give it. Must we not think that the Ciborium given to it by Your Grace is of great value, since you are causing all your silverware to be melted to have it made? It will, therefore, be infinitely precious to us, and there can be nothing in our Missions that We shall more highly prize. A bowl that has so long served you, Monseigneur,— For that, with a small cup, comprises all your

vostre vaisselle d'argent auec vne petite tasse, ne deuoit estre appliquée qu'aux Saints Autels, et l'on ne deuoit pas la destiner á d'autres vsages sans la profaner; Et á proportion que le nombre des communians augmentera dans cette Mission, le nombre de ceux qui prieront Dieu pour Vostre Grandeur d'auoir logé le Sauueur du Monde dans vn si beau Ciboire, augmentera aussy; Et puisqu'Elle a bien voulu me promettre vn Soleil pour exposer le Sainct Sacrement a la Veneration de ces pauures sauuages, Nous Vous serons redeuables, Monseigr. de tous les actes d'adoration que Jesus Christ receura au bout du Monde parmj les Ilinois. Quelque attache que i'aye pour ma Mission, J'aduoüe que ie ferois encore volontiers le Voyage des Outaŭacs a quebec pour assister a la Messe de la Cinquantiesme Année de Vostre Sacre, Monseigneur, comme i'ay eû le bonheur d'assister á celle de vostre prestrise; Et ie ne puis rien dire a tous nos Peres des Outaŭacs de plus consolant, dans les persecutions que Nous souffrons, que de les asseurer que Vostre Grandeur se porte bien, qu'Elle nous continüe toujours ses bontéz, que Nous viuons auec tous les Messieurs de Vostre Seminaire dans vne parfaite vnion, et que vous Nous regardéz toujours, Monseigneur, comme vos Enfans. Je suis dans vn profond respect.

de Vostre grandeur,—

Monseigneur,

Le tres humble, et tres obeissant
seruiteur et fils, en N. S.
JAC. GRAUIER, S.J.

A Ville-Marie
le 17e. Septembre 1697.

silverware, — could be used only on the Holy Altars, and could not be assigned to any other use without profaning it. Moreover, in proportion as the number of communicants increases in that Mission, the number of those who will pray to God in behalf of Your Grace, for having lodged the Savior of the World in so fine a Ciborium, will also increase. And since You have been pleased to promise me a Monstrance for exposing the Blessed Sacrament to the Veneration of these poor savages, We shall be indebted to You, Monseigneur, for all the acts of adoration that Jesus Christ shall receive among the Ilinois at this extremity of the World. However attached I may be to my Mission, I confess that I would willingly perform once more the Journey from the country of the Outawacs to quebec, to be present at the Mass said for the Fiftieth Anniversary of Your Consecration, Monseigneur, as I had the happiness of assisting at that for the same anniversary of your priesthood. And I can say nothing more consoling to all our Fathers who are with the Outawacs, amid the persecutions that We endure, than to assure them that Your Grace is in good health; that You continue as kind as ever; that We live in perfect accord with all the Gentlemen of Your Seminary; and that you, Monseigneur, always look upon Us as your Children. I remain with profound respect,

Monseigneur,
Your Grace's
Very humble and very obedient
servant and son in Our Lord,
JACQUES GRAVIER, S.J.

At Ville-Marie,
the 17th of September, 1697.

J. M. J.

De la mission de St. Ignace à Michilimakinak ce 20 septembre 1698.

MONSEIGNEUR.

La recommandation de vostre grandeur nous est un commandement que j'ay reçu avec un profond respect; et que nous avons taché d'executer le mieux qui nous a esté possible, nous avons reçu une joye sincere et cordiale ces fervens missionnaires de vostre seminaire des missions etrangeres de Quebec avec qui nous avons le bonheur d'avoir une si etroite union, et si nous estions capables d'avoir la moindre peine de voir des etrangers dans la mission des Akansea, ou le pere Marquette semble n'avoir paru le premier que pour en ouvrir l'entrée a ses freres nous ne pouvons avoir que de la joye que ceux de vostre seminaire Monseigneur que nous regardons comme nos veritables freres et qui nous font part du merite de toutes leurs bonnes œuvres veüillent s'employer à la conversion des pauvres Akansea et des autres nations qui n'ont pas encor la connaissance du vray Dieu.

Je vous avoue Monseigneur, que nous sommes charmes le pere de Careil et moy de la sagesse, du zele et de la modestie que Monsieur de Montigny, Monsieur St. Cosme et Monsieur Davion nous ont fait paraitre dans les conférences que nous avons eües ensembles durant sept jours qu'ils ont esté icy; nous avons agi et nous nous sommes toujours parlé avec la même ouverture et la même franchise que si nous avions toujours vescu ensemble: et nous supplions

J. M. J.

From the mission of St. Ignace at Michilimakinak, this 20th of september, 1698.

MONSEIGNEUR,

Your grace's recommendation is for us a command, which I have received with profound respect, and which we have endeavored to execute to the best of our ability. We have welcomed with sincere and cordial joy those zealous missionaries of your seminary for foreign missions at Quebec, with whom we are happy to be so closely united. And, if we could feel the slightest regret at seeing strangers in the Akansea mission,— where father Marquette seems to have gone first, in order to open the entrance to it for his brethren,— we can but rejoice that they of your seminary, Monseigneur, whom we look upon as true brethren and who allow us to share in the merits of their good works, should be pleased to labor for the conversion of the poor Akansea, and of the other nations who have not yet any knowledge of the true God.

I acknowledge, Monseigneur, that father de Careil and myself are charmed with the good judgment, the zeal, and the modesty that Monsieur de Montigny, Monsieur St. Cosme, and Monsieur Davion have displayed in the conferences that we have had together during the seven days that they spent here. We acted and we always spoke together with the same openness and the same frankness as if we had always lived together; and we beg your grace to believe that we omit nothing that may confirm it.

I told them that it was not advisable to make

vostre grandeur de croire que nous n'oublions rien pour la confirmer.

Je leur ay temoigné qu'il n'estoit pas apropos qu'il parut que ce fut Monsieur de Tonty qui les introduise aux Akansea, car ils passeraient pour ses envoyez et qu'il faut que Mr. de Montigny leur parle luy-mesme par son interprete, il ne m'a donné le temps de faire un petit discours Ilinois pour entrée le pere Binteau qui sait aussi bien que moy les manieres des sauvages le fera mieux que moy: il se fera un plaisir aussi bien que le père Pinet à Chicagoa de leur rendre toutes sortes de services.

Au reste si Mr. de Montigny marque a vostre grandeur comme il m'en a menacé, que nous luy avons donné pour son voyage sept sacs de blé d'inde et fait rasserer deux haches je la supplie humblement de n'en rien temoigner au pere superieur puisque nostre maison n'a debourse rien de nouveau et de vouloir bien nous épargner Monseigneur le chagrin que nous aurions d'apprendre qu'on veut mettre en ligne de comte comme avec des Etrangers un peu de blé d'inde que nous avons partagé avec nos freres. Si le sac de vieux blé vaut à l'heure qu'il est plus de 25ℓ le nostre ne nous revenoit pas a 15ℓ et le nouveau tel qu'il est ne nous manquera pas sans comter que nostre frere Jacques a vendu 50ℓ un canot que Monsieur de Montigny nous avait laissé.

Je prends la liberté de faire ce detail a vostre grandeur pour la supplier de ne nous pas priver de la joye et de la consolation que nous esperons toujours avoir de recevoir dans toutes nos missions Messieurs les missionnaires du Seminaire de Quebec et ceux qui y ont quelque raport et d'y agir avec la même

known that it was Monsieur de Tonty who introduced them to the Akansea, for they would pass as his envoys; and that Monsieur de Montigny himself must speak to them, through his interpreter. He did not give me time to compose a short speech in Ilinois, as an introduction. Father Binteau, who knows the customs of the savages as well as I do, will do it better than I can. He, as well as father Pinet at Chicagwa, will do themselves the pleasure of rendering them every kind of service.[7]

Moreover, should Monsieur de Montigny tell your grace, as he has threatened me with doing, that we have given him for his journey seven sacks of indian corn, and have retempered two hatchets for him, I humbly beg you to say nothing about it to the father superior, for our house has incurred no new expense; and to be pleased, Monseigneur, to spare us the chagrin that we would feel on learning that an attempt is made to take into account, as with Strangers, a little indian corn that we have shared with our brethren. If a sack of old corn be worth at the present time more than 25 livres, ours did not cost us more than 15 livres; and the new corn, such as it is, will not fail us,— to say nothing of the fact that our brother Jacques has sold for 50 livres a canoe that Monsieur de Montigny had left with us.

I take the liberty of mentioning these details to your grace, to beg you not to deprive us of the joy and consolation that we always hope to have, of receiving in all our missions Messieurs the missionaries of the Seminary of Quebec, and those who are in any way connected with it, that they may act therein with the same freedom as in their own

franchise que dans leurs maisons. Je vous demande humblement Monseigneur vostre Ste. benediction et je suis avec un profond respect Monseigneur le tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur

Jacques Gravier
de la compagnie de Jesus.

houses. I humbly beg, Monseigneur, your Holy blessing; and I remain, Monseigneur, with profound respect, your very humble and very obedient servant,

JACQUES GRAVIER,
of the society of Jesus.

Lettre du P. Julien Binneteau, de la Compagnie de Jéſus, à un Père de la même Compagnie.

Du Pays des Ilinois [Janvier] 1699

MON RÉVÉREND PÈRE
Pax Chriſti

Dieu continue d'eſtre icy ſervy, malgré les oppoſitions du démon, qui ſuſcite des gens tout à fait ennemis du Chriſtianiſme: nous les nommons icy Jongleurs. Ils font en public cent mommeries pleines d'impieté et ils parlent à des peaux de bêtes, à des oiſeaux morts, comme à des divinités; ils pretendent que les herbes médicinales ſont des dieux de qui ils tiennent la vie, et qu'il n'en faut point adorer d'autres; ils chantent tous les jours des chanſons en l'honneur de leurs petits manitous, comme ils les appellent: ils s'emportent contre noſtre religion et contre les miſſionnaires. Où eſt le Dieu, diſent ils, dont nous parlent ces robes noires? Que nous donne-t-il, pour les aller entendre? Où ſont les feſtins qu'ils nous font? car mon révérend Père, c'eſt par les feſtins que le parti du démon ſe ſoutient icy.

Quoique ces ſortes de gens là paroiſſent fort éloignés d'embraſſer le chriſtianiſme, pluſieurs d'entre eux ne laiſſent pas cependant de reſpecter ou de craindre nos myſtères et de faire bon viſage aux miſſionnaires: il y en a meſme peu dont les enfants ne viennent à la chapelle; pluſieurs les y envoient et quelque motif

Letter of Father Julien Binneteau, of the Society of Jesus, to a Father of the same Society.

From the Ilinois country, [January,] 1699.

MY REVEREND FATHER,
Pax Christi.

God continues to be served here, in spite of the opposition of the devil, who raises up people bitterly hostile to Christianity. We call them Jugglers here. In public they perform a hundred mummeries full of impiety; and talk to the skins of animals, and to dead birds, as divinities. They claim that medicinal herbs are gods, from whom they have life, and that no others must be worshiped. Every day they sing songs in honor of their little manitous, as they call them. They inveigh against our religion and against the missionaries. "Where is the God," they say, "of whom the black gowns tell us? What does he give us to induce us to hear them? Where are the feasts they give us?" For, my reverend Father, it is by means of feasts that the demon's party is maintained here.

Although people of this kind seem very averse to embracing christianity, many of them nevertheless respect or fear our mysteries, and are polite to the missionaries. Indeed, there are few whose children do not come to the chapel. Many send them thither; and, whatever may be the parents' motive, there is reason to hope that these young plants will one day bear fruit, and that the party of evil will insensibly

qui faſſe agir les parents, il y a eſpérance que les jeunes plantes porteront un jour leurs fruits, et que le méchant parti tombera inſenſiblement. Ce qui vous ſurprendra, c'eſt que pluſieurs de ces jongleurs, quand ils tombent malades, ont volontiers recours au miſſionaire, et il y en a peu qui ne l'écoutent et qui n'avouent qu'il n'y a qu'un Grand Eſprit, ouvrier de toutes choſes, et qu'il faut ſeul adorer. Depuis peu, un des plus conſiderables s'eſt fait inſtruire, après avoir longtemps réſiſté; eſtant enſuite tombé malade et ſe ſentant proche de la mort, il n'a point eu de repos qu'il n'ait enfin reçu le ſaint baptême en exhortant tous ſes enfans à embraſſer noſtre religion.

Les jeunes gens ne mettent point moins d'oppoſition au progrès du chriſtianiſme que les jongleurs. Ce ſont, parmi eux, des monſtres d'impureté, qui s'abandonnent ſans honte aux actions les plus infâmes; ce qui fait que nous ne voyons preſque aucun jeune homme ſur qui on puiſſe compter pour les exerciſes de la religion; il n'y a que les hommes entre deux ages ou les vieillards qui ayent de la conſtance.

En récompenſe les femmes et les filles ont de grandes diſpoſitions pour la vertu, quoique ſuivant leurs couſtumes, elles ſoient eſclaves de leurs frères pour eſpouſer ceux qu'ils jugent à propos, meſmes les hommes déjà mariés à une autre femme. Il s'en trouve néanmoins pluſieurs parmi elles qui reſiſtent alors conſtamment et qui aiment mieux s'expoſer aux mauvais traitements qu'on leur peut faire, que de rien commetre, en cette occaſion, contre ce que preſcrit le Chriſtianiſme pour le mariage.

Il y a pluſieurs ménages où l'homme et la femme

disappear. You will be surprised to learn that several of these jugglers, when they fall ill, willingly have recourse to the missionary; and there are but few who do not listen to him, and who do not admit that there is a Great Spirit, the maker of all things, who alone must be adored. Recently one of the chief men asked to be instructed, after having long resisted. Afterward, when he fell ill, and was near his end, he had no rest until he at last received holy baptism, while exhorting all his children to embrace our religion.

The young men are no less opposed to the progress of christianity than are the jugglers. Among them are monsters of impurity, who abandon themselves without shame to the most infamous actions; this is the reason why we find hardly a single young man upon whom we can rely for the exercises of religion. The middle-aged men and the old men alone have any constancy.

As a compensation, the women and girls have strong inclinations to virtue — although, according to their customs, they are the slaves of their brothers, who compel them to marry whomsoever they choose, even men already married to another wife. Nevertheless, there are some among them who constantly resist, and who prefer to expose themselves to ill treatment rather than do anything contrary to the precepts of Christianity regarding marriage.

There are many households where husband and wife live in great fervor, without heeding what the jugglers or the young libertines may say. They are always the first at church; they punctually attend the public prayers, and courageously support our side. Some of them assemble in the cabin of one

vivent dans une grande ferveur, ſans ſe ſoucier de ce que les jongleurs et les jeunes libertins peuvent dire: ils ſont toujours les premiers à l'égliſe, aſſidus aux prières publiques, et ſoutiennent courageuſement le parti. Quelques uns s'aſſemblent chez un des plus conſidérables du village, et là tout l'entretien eſt de matière de piéte, du catéchiſme, des prières qu'ils ſe font reciter les uns aux autres, ou enfin ſur les cantiques ſpirituels. Comme les enfants ſont perſecutés pour la prière, je connois de bons chreſtiens qui les exhortent à ſe retirer chez eux, s'offrant à les nourrir et leur faiſant part de ce qu'ils ont, comme s'ils étoient leurs propres enfants.

Il y a auſſi des femmes mariées à de nos françois qui feroient d'un bon exemple dans les maiſons de France les mieux réglées; quelques unes de celles qui ſont mariées aux ſauvages ont un ſoin extraordinaire d'entretenir la pieté dans les familles; elles inſtruiſent elles mêmes leurs enfants; elles exhortent leurs maris à la vertu, leur demandent le ſoir s'ils ont fait leurs prières, les portent à frequenter les ſacrements, et pour elles, elles ſe confeſſent au moins tous les huit jours et communient ſouvent.

Aprés vous avoir parlé de la miſſion, je vous diray quelque choſe, mon Révérend Père, des miſſionaires. Le P. Gabriel Mareſt y fait des prodiges; il a les plus beaux talents du monde pour ces miſſions; il a appris la langue en quatre ou cinq mois juſqu'à en faire maintenant des leçons à ceux qui ſont icy depuis longtemps, il eſt d'une fatigue incroyable, et ſon zèle lui fait regarder comme rien, tout ce qu'il y a de plus difficile. Je n'aurai jamais de repos, dit il, tant que je vivrai; je ne croirai jamais en avoir aſſez fait.

of the notable men of the village, and there the whole conversation is about matters of piety, the catechism, the prayers which they recite to one another, or, finally, the hymns. As the children are persecuted on account of prayer, I know good christians who urge them to go to their homes, and who offer to feed them and to share what they have with them, as if they were their own children.

There are also women married to some of our frenchmen, who would be a good example to the best regulated households in France. Some of those who are married to savages manifest extraordinary care in maintaining piety in their families; they themselves teach their children; they exhort their husbands to be virtuous; they ask them at night whether they have said their prayers; they urge them to approach the sacraments frequently; and, for their own part, they confess at least every week, and often receive communion.

After having told you about the mission, I shall say a few words, my Reverend Father, about the missionaries. Father Gabriel Marest is doing wonders; he has the finest talent in the world for these missions; he has learned the language in four or five months, so that he can now give lessons to those who have been here a long time; he can endure an incredible amount of fatigue, and his zeal leads him to look upon the most difficult things as trifles. "I will never rest," he says, "as long as I live. I will never believe that I have done enough."

We have three chapels, and we teach the catechism at four places. Kikabous as well as Ilinois are lodged around us, in order to cultivate corn in the neighborhood of our chief village. They have a share in

Nous avons trois chapelles et nous faiſons le catéchiſme en quatre endroits. Des Kikabous, pareillement Ilinois, ſe ſont logés auprès de nous pour faire du bled dans le voiſinage de noſtre premier village; ils ont part à la parole de Dieu ainſy nous ne manquons pas d'occupation icy tous deux. Noſtre maiſon ne déſemplit pas, depuis le matin juſqu'au ſoir, de gens que viennent ſe faire inſtruire et ſe confeſſer: il a fallu faire nos chapelles plus grandes qu'elles n'eſtoient. Le cher Père Mareſt ſe livre un peu trop à ſon zèle: il travaille exceſſivement le jour, et veille la nuit pour ſe perfectionner dans la langue; il voudroit en cinq ou ſix mois ſavoir tout le dictionnaire. Dieu nous conſerve un ſi brave miſſionaire; il ne vit que d'un peu de bled cuit, où il mèle quelquefois un peu de petites fevès, et il mange un melon d'eau qui lui ſert de boiſſon. Il y a un autre miſſionaire à ſoixante lieues d'icy qui vient nous voir tous les hivers, il eſt de la Province de Guyenne et ſe nomme le P. Pinet, ſi vous le connoiſſiez, je vous en dirois davantage de lui. Il a eu le bonheur d'envoyer au ciel l'âme du fameux chef Pé'ouris et de pluſieurs jongleurs, et a attiré à nos chapelles, diverſes perſonnes qui ſont l'exemple du village par leur ferveur: il me reſte à vous parler de ce qui me regarde.

Ie ſuis preſentement à hiverner avec une partie de nos ſauvages diſperſés. J'ai eſté depuis peu aux Tamarois, en voir une partie ſur le bord d'un des grands fleuves du monde, que nous appelons pour cela le Miſſiſipi ou la grande rivière; on en a découvert plus de ſept cent lieues où elle eſt navigable, ſans en avoir encore trouvé la ſource. Ie dois

God's word; Thus we both have no lack of occupation. From morning until night, our house is never empty of people who come to be instructed and to confess. We have had to make our chapels larger than they were. Dear Father Marest is somewhat too zealous; he works excessively during the day, and he sits up at night to improve himself in the language; he would like to learn the whole vocabulary in five or six months. May God preserve so worthy a missionary to us. He lives only on a little boiled corn, with which he sometimes mixes a few small beans; and he eats a watermelon, which supplies his beverage. There is another missionary sixty leagues from here, who comes to see us every winter. He comes from the Province of Guyenne, and his name is Father Pinet. If you knew him I would tell you more about him. He has had the happiness of sending to heaven the soul of the famous chief Pé'ouris, and those of several jugglers; and he has attracted to our chapels various persons who, through their fervor, are patterns to the village. I have now to speak to you solely of what concerns myself.

I am at present spending the winter with a portion of our savages who are scattered about. I have recently been with the Tamarois, to visit a band of them on the bank of one of the largest rivers in the world — which, for this reason, we call the Missisipi or "the great river." More than seven hundred leagues of it have been found to be navigable, without discovering its source. I am to return to the Ilinois of Tamaroa in the spring. There is a very great difference between this climate and that of Québec,— where the cold lasts a long time, and a

retourner chez les Ilinois de Tamaroa le printemps; il y a une fort grande différence de ce climat icy à celui de Québec, où le froid eſt long et les neiges fort hautes, au lieu qu'icy d'ordinaire le neige ne dure que fort peu. A peine tout ce mois cy de Janvier avons nous ſenti le froid; la vigne ſe voit attachée aux arbres de tous coſtés et montant juſqu'au haut, le raiſin en eſt ſauvage et n'approche pas de la bonté de celuy de France. Il y a une infinité de noyers et de pruniers de différentes eſpèces; on y voit encore quelques petites pommes. Il ſe trouve icy deux autres ſortes d'arbres fruictiers que l'on ne connoit point en France, ce ſont des Aſſimines et des Piakimines: le fruit en eſt bon: de tous nos autres beaux fruits de France nous nous en paſſons en ce païs-cy. Le gibier y eſt en quantité; les canards, outardes, oies, cignes, grues, poulets d'Inde; le bœuf, l'ours et le chevreuil ſont les groſſes viandes que l'on mange au païs de chaſſe. Le bœuf en ce païs eſt d'un brun tirant ſur le noir; c'eſt ce qu'on appelle le bufle en Europe; il a une groſſe boſſe vers le chignon du cou, le poil fort épais, comme celuy des moutons en France, et nous fait de bonnes couvertures de lit. On voit encore pluſieurs autres animaux, comme chats ſauvages, loups cerviers, rats de bois; la femelle de ceux cy porte ses petits dans une eſpece de bourſe qu'elle a ſous le ventre.

Voicy quelle eſt la vie de nos ſauvages; ils partent ſur la fin de ſeptembre pour chaſſer. Tout le monde marche, ou ſe rend en pirogue au lieu de l'hivernement. De là, les plus leſtes hommes, femmes, filles, vont dans les terres chercher le bœuf;

great quantity of snow falls; whereas here, as a rule, the snow remains but a very short time. We have hardly felt the cold during the whole of this month of January. Vines climb all around the trees, up to their tops; the grapes are wild, and are not nearly as good as those of France. There are an infinite number of nut- and plum-trees of various kinds; also some small apples. We find here two other kinds of fruit-trees that are not known in France; they are Assimines and Piakimines.[8] Their fruit is good. We in this country go without all our other delicious fruits of France. Game is plentiful, such as ducks, geese, bustards, swans, cranes, Turkeys. Ox, bear, and deer furnish the substantial meats that we eat in the game country. The ox of these regions is of a blackish brown, and is the animal called "buffalo" in Europe; it has a large hump on the nape of the neck, and very thick hair, like the wool of our sheep in France; this makes good bed-coverings. We also see other animals, such as wildcats, lynxes, and tree-rats; the female of the latter carries her young in a sort of pouch under her belly.[9]

The life led by our savages is as follows. They start on their hunt about the end of september. All walk, or proceed in pirogues, to the wintering-place. From there the most active men, women, and girls go into the interior, to seek the ox; this animal is dangerous, and boldly rushes at him who attacks it, especially when wounded; it snorts furiously, and its glaring eyes are terrible. When the savages have killed one, they remove the flesh, especially that from the ribs, and divide it in halves. This meat is afterward spread for some time on a wooden grating, three or four feet high, under which a bright

cet animal eſt dangereux, courant reſolument ſur celuy qui l'attaque, ſurtout quand il eſt bleſſé; il ſoufle d'une manière furieuſe, et jette des œillades terribles. Quand les ſauvages l'ont tué ils enlèvent particulièrement la viande de deſſus les côtes, la partagent en deux moitiés; cette viande eſt enſuite expoſée pendant quelque temps ſur un gril de bois de trois ou quatre pieds de haut, ſous lequel on fait un feu clair, puis on la plie; ainſy deſſechée, elle ſe garde fort longtemps ſans ſe corrompre. On appelle ces ſortes de pieces des plats-côtés dont il ſe fait grand débit au village, quand on eſt de retour. Cette chaſſe finit vers le temps de Noël; les ſauvages en reviennent chargés de ces plats-côtés, et il eſt ſurprenant combien les hommes et les femmes portent peſant dans la marche. Le reſte du temps juſqu'au mois de mars ſe paſſe dans l'hivernement, où les femmes preſſent ſans ceſſe; les hommes vont de fois et d'autres chaſſer le chevreuil ou des ours, ſinon ils jouent, danſent, chantent, *partisque fruuntur.* Ce ſont tous gentilshommes, vivant, ſans autre meſtier, que celuy de la chaſſe, de la peſche et de la guerre.

La vie que les ſauvages mènent au village eſt à peu pres de même que celle de l'hivernement; les femmes ſeules y labourent et ſèment la terre; ce qu'elles font avec grand ſoin; auſſi pour l'ordinaire les bleds ſont-ils fort beaux et en abondance. La fainéantiſe où vous voyez que vivent les hommes, eſt la ſource de toutes leurs débauches, et de l'averſion qu'ils ont pour la religion chreſtienne. Le bal ſe tient icy comme en France, tandis que dans une cabane des danſeurs ſuivent la cadence d'une eſpèce

fire is kept up; it is then rolled; and, dried in this manner, it keeps for a long time without becoming tainted. These pieces are called the tenderloins, and are in great demand in the village when the hunters return. This hunt ends about Christmas. The savages come back loaded with these tenderloins, and it is wonderful what heavy loads the men and women carry on the march. The remainder of the time until the month of march is passed in the winter quarters, where the women are continually occupied. The men go, from time to time, to hunt for deer or bear, and spend the rest of the time in gaming, dancing, singing *partisque fruuntur*. They are all gentlemen, the sole occupation of whose lives consists in hunting, in fishing, and in war.

The life that the savages lead in the village is about the same as that in their winter quarters. The women alone till the soil, and sow; they do this carefully, and consequently the corn is very fine and abundant. The idleness of the men is the cause of all their debauchery, and of their aversion to the christian religion. Balls are held here, as in France; while in a cabin the dancers move about to the cadence of a kind of drum, you hear, on the other hand, some old woman singing.

I am almost forgetting to tell you of our gardens. One of their finest ornaments is what we call the watermelon, which grows to an extraordinary size. It has a very sweet taste, and differs from our melons because it does not turn yellow. These melons are eaten without salt, and are harmless even when eaten in quantities.

The above, my Reverend Father, is a short description of the climate and of the customs of our

de tambour, vous entendez d'un autre coſté quelque vieille qui chante.

J'oubliois de vous parler de nos jardins; un de leurs plus beaux ornements eſt ce que nous appelons les melons d'eau; ils viennent exorbitamment gros; le gout en eſt fort doux, et ils ſont différents de nos melons en ce qu'ils ne jauniſſent pas: ils ſe mangent ſans ſel, et la quantité n'en eſt pas malfaiſante.

Voilà, mon R^d^ Père, un petit narré du climat et des mœurs de nos Ilinois. Les jeunes enfants nous y donnent toujours une grande eſpérance pour l'avenir, ils ont un empreſſement merveilleux pour ſe faire inſtruire, et l'envie d'avoir une aiguille, et un grain rouge, ou quelque petite croix ou médaille, fait qu'ils s'appliquent à bien répondre et qu'ils apprennent beaucoup en peu de temps.

Je ſuis
Mon révérend Père
Votre très humble et très obéiſſant
ſerviteur en Noſtre Seigneur,
JULIEN BINNETEAU
de la Compagnie de Jéſus.

Ilinois. The young children always give us great hopes for the future. They are wonderfully eager to be instructed; and their desire to obtain a needle, a red bead, or a small cross or medal, makes them try to give correct answers, and they learn a great deal in a short time.

I remain,

My reverend Father,

Your very humble and very
obedient servant in Our Lord,
JULIEN BINNETEAU,
of the Society of Jesus.

Lettre du P. Gabriel Mareſt, de la Compagnie de Jéſus, à un Père de la même Compagnie.

Du Pays des Illinois en la Nouvelle-France le 29 Avril 1699

Mon Révérend Père
Pax Chriſti

Il y a près d'un an que je ſuis dans cette miſſion; le pays y eſt fort different de celuy du coſté de Quebec. Le climat y eſt chaud, les terres fertiles, le peuple d'un eſprit facile et doux. Voicy en quel eſtat y eſt la religion: parmi les hommes il y en a peu qui embraſſent le chriſtianiſme; ſurtout les jeunes gens, qui vivent dans de monſtrueux déſordres, qui les éloignent entièrement de la vertu et qui les rendent incapables d'écouſter leurs miſſionaires. Priez Dieu, mon Révérend Père, qu'il jette les yeux de ſa miſéricorde ſur eux et qu'il les tire d'un eſtat ſi déplorable. Au contraire, les femmes et les filles ſe trouvent entièrement diſpoſées à recevoir le baptême, pleines de conſtance et de fermeté quand elles l'ont une fois reçu; ferventes à la prière, ne demandant qu'à eſtre inſtruites, fréquentant ſouvent les ſacrements, enfin capables de la plus haute ſainteté. Le nombre de celles qui embraſſent notre ſainte religion augmente de jour en jour d'une manière conſidérable, juſques à ce que, depuis peu, nous avons eſté obligés de faire une nouvelle égliſe, la première ſe trouvant trop petite; et à voir comme

Letter of Father Gabriel Marest, of the Society of Jesus, to a Father of the same Society.

From the Illinois Country in
New France, April 29, 1699.

My Reverend Father,
Pax Christi.

I have been nearly a year in this mission. The country here is very different from that about Quebec. The climate is warm, the soil fertile, the people of affable and gentle disposition. The state of religion here is as follows: but few embrace christianity among the men, especially the young men — who live in excessive licentiousness, which renders them utterly averse to virtue, and incapable of listening to their missionaries. Pray God, my Reverend Father, to cast a merciful eye upon them, and to withdraw them from so deplorable a condition. The women and girls, on the contrary, are very well disposed to receive baptism; they are very constant and firm, when once they have received it; they are fervent in prayer, and ask only to be instructed; they frequently approach the sacraments; and, finally, are capable of the highest sanctity. The number of those who embrace our holy religion increases daily to a marked degree — so much so that we have recently been obliged to build a new church, as the first was too small; and, judging from the manner in which this one is filled every day, I think we shall shortly need a third one. Praise be

celle cy ſe remplit tous les jours, je crois qu'il nous en faudra faire une troiſième. Gloire en ſoit à Dieu, qui veut bien répandre icy ſes graces avec tant de profuſion.

Comme le village eſt grand, y ayant près d'une demie lieue de long, nos fervents chreſtiens ont dreſſé depuis peu une chapelle aux deux bouts pour la commodité de l'inſtruction; ils s'y aſſemblent, et je vais leur y faire regulièrement le catéchiſme.

Les enfants nous donnent des très belles eſpérances pour l'avenir, on ne ſauroit croire l'ardeur qu'ils ont pour ſe faire inſtruire; quand ils ſont de retour dans la cabane, ils diſent à leurs pères ſouvent encore infidèles, ce qu'ils ont appris; ſurtout ils ſavent ſe moquer des ridicules cérémonies de nos jongleurs, et nous voyons que, par là, la jonglerie s'eſteint peu à peu.

Il y a pres de dix ans que le P. Gravier jetta les fondements de cette nouuelle chreſtienté, qu'il a cultivé avec des ſoins et des peines incroyables. Le R. P. Binneteau a ſuccedé à ſes fatigues et à ſes fruicts. Enfin, on peut dire que c'eſt icy une de nos plus belles miſſions: en verité, on ne conçoit pas en France, le bien qu'on peut faire parmi ces nombreuſes nations; il faut avouer auſſi qu'on y a de l'occupation pour l'ordinaire audeſſus de ſes forces, et il faut que Dieu nous ſoutienne d'en haut pour ne pas ſuccomber au travail. Voicy un plan de notre vie.

Tous les jours, avant le ſoleil levé, nous diſons la meſſe pour la commodité de nos chreſtiens, qui s'en vont de là à leur travail. Les ſauvages y chantent des prières, ou en récitent enſemble; au ſortir de

to God, who is pleased to shower his blessings here in such profusion.

As the village is large, being nearly half a league in length, our fervent christians have lately erected a chapel at each end, so that instruction may be more easily given. They meet in these, and I go there regularly to teach them the catechism.

The children give us bright hopes for the future. It is impossible to believe how eager they are to be instructed. When they return to their cabins, they tell their fathers, who are often still infidels, what they have learned. Above all, they know how to laugh at the jugglers' ridiculous ceremonies; and we see that jugglery is, in consequence, gradually disappearing.

Nearly ten years ago Father Gravier laid the foundations of this new christendom, which he fostered with care and trouble beyond belief. Reverend Father Binneteau has succeeded to his labors, and to the fruits thereof. In fact, we may say that this is one of our finest missions. In truth, it is impossible to imagine in France the good that can be done among these populous nations. It must also be confessed that, as a rule, we have occupation beyond our strength; and we need to be sustained by God from on high, not to succumb beneath the burden of our labors. Here is a description of the life we lead:

Every day, before sunrise, we say mass for the convenience of our christians, who go from it to their work. The savages chant the prayers, or recite them together during mass,—after which we disperse in different directions to teach the children the catechism; and then we have to visit the sick. On

la meſſe, nous allons dans divers quartiers faire le catéchiſme aux enfants; enſuite il faut aller voir les malades. Au retour on trouve toujours pluſieurs ſauvages qui viennent nous conſulter ſur differentes choſes. Après midy, trois fois la ſemaine, ſe fait un grand catéchiſme pour tout le monde; de là on va par les cabanes confirmer les chreſtiens et taſcher de gagner quelque idolâtre. Ces viſites ſont d'une très grande utilité, et je remarque que le miſſionaire ne manque jamais d'y faire quelque nouvelle conquête, ou d'y ramener quelque brebis egarée. Les viſites ſe font aujourdhui dans un quartier et demain dans un autre, eſtant abſolument impoſſible de parcourir toutes les cabanes en un jour.

Quand nous revenons à la maiſon, nous la retrouvons toute pleine de nos fervents chreſtiens qui viennent pour recevoir quelque inſtruction ou pour ſe confeſſer; c'eſt ordinairement en ce temps là que j'explique des images de l'ancien et du nouveau teſtament; ces ſortes d'images frappent l'eſprit du ſauvage et luy aident beaucoup à retenir ce qu'on luy apprend; ſe fait enſuite la prière publique où tout le monde ſe trouve, et une demie heure d'inſtruction; au ſortir de là, pluſieurs veulent nous parler en particulier, et ſouvent la nuit eſt déjà bien avancée, avant qu'on ayt pu contenter tout le monde. Voilà ce qui ſe fait tous les jours. Les ſamedys et les dimanches ſont entièrement occupés pour les confeſſions: ainſi un miſſionaire n'a icy que la nuit de libre, encore ſouvent prend-on ce temps là pour apprendre à quelques uns à chanter des hymnes.

Pendant l'hiver nous nous partageons en différents endroits, où les ſauvages vont paſſer cette ſaiſon.

our return, we always find several savages who come to consult us on various matters. In the afternoon, three times a week, there is general catechism for all the people. From that, we go through the cabins to strengthen the christians, and endeavor to win some idolater. These visits are very useful, and I notice that the missionary never fails to effect some fresh conquest, or to bring back some strayed sheep. The visits are paid one day in one quarter, and on the morrow in another; for it is absolutely impossible to go through all the cabins in one day.

When we return to the house, we find it filled with our fervent christians, who come to receive instruction or to confess. It is generally at this time that I explain the pictures of the old and of the new testament. Pictures of this kind produce an impression upon the savage's mind, and greatly assist him in remembering what we tell him. Then the public prayers are said, which all attend; and they are followed by a half-hour's instruction. After leaving the church, many wish to speak to us in private; and the night is frequently far advanced before we can satisfy every one. This is what we do every day. Saturdays and sundays are completely occupied in hearing confessions. Thus a missionary is free only at night; and even that time is often taken to teach some of the people to sing the hymns.

During the winter we separate, going to various places where the savages pass that season. Last winter I had for my share a village of considerable size, three leagues from here; after saying mass there on sundays, I came to say it again here, at the fort, for our French.

Three Gentlemen of the Quebec Seminary, sent

J'avois pour moi l'hiver paſſé un aſſez gros village à trois liéues d'icy où après avoir dit la meſſe les dimanches, je venois encore la dire icy au fort, à nos François.

Il a paſſé par icy trois Meſſieurs du Séminaire de Quebec que Mgr l'Eveſque envoyoit eſtablir des Miſſions ſur le Miſſiſipi. Nous les avons reçu le mieux que nous avons pu, les logeant chez nous et leur faiſant part de ce que nous pouvions avoir dans une diſette auſſi grande que celle où nous avons eſté toute l'année dans le village. En partant nous les avons auſſi engagés à prendre ſept ſacs de bled qui nous reſtoient, leur cachant noſtre pauvreté, afin qu'ils euſſent moins de peine à recevoir ce que nous leur offrions. Dans une autre de nos Miſſions, nous avons encore nourri deux de leurs gens pendant tout cet hyver.

Comme ces Meſſieurs ne ſavoient pas l'Ilinois, nous leur avons donné un recueil de prières et un catéchiſme traduict, avec les remarques que nous avons pu faire ſur cette langue, afin de les aider à l'apprendre; enfin nous leur avons fait toutes les honnêtetés et toutes les amitiés poſſibles.

Demandez à Dieu, mon R. Père, qu'il me faſſe la grâce de lui être fidèle et de remplir icy les deſſeins qu'il a ſur moi pour l'avancement de ſa gloire et l'entière converſion des peuples qu'il a bien vouloir confier à nos ſoins.

Je ſuis
Mon Révérend Père
Votre très humble et
obéiſſant ſerviteur
GABRIEL MAREST, S.J.

by Monseigneur the Bishop to establish Missions on the Missisipi, passed through here. We received them as well as we were able, lodging them in our own house, and sharing with them what we could possess amid a scarcity as great as that which prevailed in the village throughout the year. On leaving, we also induced them to take seven sacks of corn that we had left, concealing our poverty from them, so that they might have less objection to receiving what we offered them. In another of our Missions, we also fed two of their people during the whole of last winter.

As these Gentlemen did not know the Ilinois language, we gave them a collection of prayers, and a translation of the catechism, with the notes that we have been able to make upon that language, in order to help them to learn it. In fine, we showed them every possible attention and kindness.

Entreat God, my Reverend Father, to grant me the grace of being faithful to him, and of fulfilling here his designs regarding me for the advancement of his glory, and the entire conversion of these people, whom he has been pleased to confide to our care.

I remain,
My Reverend Father,
Your very humble and
obedient servant,
GABRIEL MAREST, S.J.

Lettre du Père Jacques Bigot, de la Compagnie de Jéſus, à un Père de la même Compagnie.

Du Pays des Abnaquis
[26 Octobre] 1699

MON RÉVÉREND PÈRE,
Pax Chriſti.

Je partis ſur la fin du mois d'aouſt, pour aller dans une de nos miſſions de l'Acadie, prendre la place de mon frère qui eſtoit incommodé. I'y arrivai la veille de la Nativité de la Sainte Vierge, où j'eus d'abord la conſolation de confeſſer avec luy et de communier plus de deux cents de nos ſauvages. Comme c'eſt le premier hyver qu'on ait paſſé dans ce village tout récemment eſtably, je vous avoueray que j'ay eu quelque choſe à ſouffrir, tant pour le logement que pour les vivres; mais toutes ces peines ne ſont rien en comparaiſon de la conſolation que j'ay eu de jouir dans cette miſſion des fruicts des travaux de mon frère, et d'y trouver la plupart des ſauvages dans une très grande ferveur. On ne ſauvoit entrer dans leur chapelle, ſans qu'on y en trouve quelqu'un adorant Jéſus Chriſt dans le Saint Sacrement; ils s'excitent les uns les autres dans ce ſaint exerciſe, et tachent de teſmoigner par là combien ils ſont reconnoiſſants de l'honneur que leur fait ce Dieu caché, de demeurer ainſy dans leur pauvre chapelle, quelques uns y viennent dès trois heures du matin; pluſieurs y paſſent les deux heures

Letter of Father Jacques Bigot, of the Society of Jesus, to a Father of the same Society.

From the Abnaqui Country,
[October 26,] 1699.

MY REVEREND FATHER,
Pax Christi.

I started about the end of the month of august to go to one of our missions of Acadia, to take the place of my brother, who was in poor health. I reached the mission on the vigil of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, when I had in the first place the consolation of confessing and giving communion, with him, to more than two hundred of our savages. As that is the first winter that we have passed in this village, which has been but recently established,[10] I must confess that I had to endure some discomfort as regards lodging and food; but all these things are nothing in comparison with the consolation that I have experienced in enjoying the fruits of my brother's labors in this mission, and in finding very great fervor in most of the savages. We cannot enter their chapel without finding some one adoring Jesus Christ in the Blessed Sacrament. They incite one another to the performance of this holy devotion, and endeavor thereby to show how grateful they are for the honor done them by that hidden God, in thus remaining in their poor chapel. Some of them come as early as three o'clock in the morning; many pass two whole hours there on their

entières à genoux; j'en connois qui ne manquent jamais d'y aller tous les jours à midy.

D'autres en revenant de la foreſt, après avoir mis leurs charges de bois dans leurs cabanes, vont auſſitoſt ſaluer Noſtre Seigneur. Comme la plus grande partie des ſauvages de ce village ne ſont baptiſés que depuis peu de temps, et qu'ils n'ont pu eſtre tout à fait inſtruits, j'ay toujours fait deux inſtructions publiques dans la chapelle, et une troiſième dans une cabane particulière pour leur apprendre et pour leur expliquer des chants ſur les myſtères; celà ne les contentoit pas encore, de ſorte que quand j'allois dans les cabanes, ils me faiſoient mille queſtions, importunité ſans doute bien agréable. Dès que je faiſois le cri dans le village pour l'inſtruction des enfants, pluſieurs, tant hommes que femmes venoient ſe joindre à eux pour en profiter. Quelques uns dès la fin de ſeptembre, avoient couſtume de ſe retirer dans les bois juſqu'au printemps, pour y paſſer l'hyver plus commodément; cette année, ceux là ont différé plus de trois mois à le faire, afin de pouvoir eſtre inſtruits.

Je deſeſperai quaſi de la converſion de deux jeunes ſauvages d'environ vingt cinq ans, grace à Dieu, ils ont tellement changé depuis quelque temps, qu'aujourd'hui je ſuis autant conſolé de leur ferveur et de leur docilité que j'eſtois auparavant affligé de leur fierté et de leur indifference pour le Chriſtianiſme. Un troiſième eſtant retombé dans ſes désordres, après avoir eſte baptiſé, j'ay eſté obligé de moderer les mortifications et les auſterités que vouloient faire deux de ſes parentes pour obtenir de Dieu ſa converſion.

knees. I know some who never fail to go there every day at noon.

Others on returning from the forest, after depositing their loads of fuel in their cabins, go at once to adore Our Lord. As most of the savages of this village have been baptized only within a short time, and have not yet been fully instructed, I have always given two public instructions in the chapel, and a third in a private cabin, to teach them and explain to them chants on the mysteries. This did not content them, and when I went into the cabins they put a thousand questions to me — an importunity that was assuredly very agreeable. As soon as I uttered in the village the call for the children's instruction, many, both men and women, came to join them, in order to profit by it. Some were in the habit of retiring into the woods as early as the end of september, and of remaining until the spring, in order to pass the winter there in greater comfort. This year they put off doing so for more than three months, in order that they might be instructed.

I almost despaired of the conversion of two young savages, about twenty-five years of age. Thanks be to God, they have so greatly changed for some time past that at present I am as greatly consoled by their fervor and docility as I was formerly afflicted by their pride and indifference to Christianity. A third relapsed into his evil ways after being baptized; and I was obliged to moderate the mortifications and austerities that two of his female relatives wished to practice, in order to obtain his conversion from God.

A young woman came to tell me that she had promised God, two years before, not to remarry; that she wished to keep her word; and, to that end,

Une jeune femme n'eſt venue dire que, depuis deux ans, elle avoit promis à Dieu de ne ſe jamais remarier, qu'elle vouloit lui garder ſa parole et que pour cela elle me prioit de dire à ſes parents de ne luy plus parler de mariage.

Une autre de même age, dans la première communion qu'elle fit après la mort de ſon mari, promit à Jéſus Chriſt de ne ſe plus marier. Comme je la blâmois d'avoir fait cela ſans m'en avoir parlé, elle m'a dit tout ſimplement que, poſſédant Jéſus Chriſt après la communion, elle n'avoit pu s'empeſcher de luy dire: Je ſuis maintenant toute à vous, mon divin Jéſus, et jamais je n'auray d'autre eſpoux que vous. Je ne puis vous exprimer tout ce qu'a voulu faire cette fervente chreſtienne pour le repos de l'ame de ſon mary.

Depuis quelques jours nos Abnaquis ont commencé à rendre par échange les Anglois qu'ils avoient pris en guerre, et c'eſt icy, mon révérend Père, où la religion Catholique a triomphé de l'héréſie en la perſonne meſme des enfants. Selon l'accord fait entre les deux nations, il eſt libre à ceux qui ont plus de quatorze ans de reſter chez les ennemis, mais on a droit de part et d'autre de reprendre, malgré eux, ceux qui ſont au deſſous de cet âge. Quand on vint a ramener un pauvre enfant de douze à treize ans, vous n'euſſiez pu retenir vos larmes, voyant comme il conjuroit les ſauvages de le retenir; Je vais me perdre, s'ecrioit il en pleurant, gardez moi avec vous, afin que je ne ſois point damné. Il confondit le capitaine de ſa nation, qui eſtoit venu faire l'échange, luy ſoutenant que les François et les Sauvages prioient beaucoup mieux que les Anglois.

she begged me to enjoin her parents not to speak to her again of marriage.

Another of the same age made a promise to Jesus Christ, the first time when she received communion after her husband's death, never to marry again. When I blamed her for doing so without speaking to me, she said quite simply that when she possessed Jesus Christ in her soul after communion, she could not refrain from saying to him: "I now belong wholly to you, my divine Jesus, and I will have no other spouse but you." I cannot tell you all that this fervent christian wished to do for the repose of her husband's soul.

Our Abnaquis have begun during the past few days to restore, by exchange, the English prisoners whom they had taken in war; and in this, my reverend Father, the Catholic religion has triumphed over heresy in the very persons of its children. In accordance with the compact made between the two nations, those who are over fourteen years of age are free to remain with the enemy; but both sides have the right to take back those who are under that age, whether they like it or not. When they came to take away a poor boy of twelve or thirteen, you could not have restrained your tears had you seen how he begged the savages to keep him. "I shall be lost," he exclaimed, with sobs. "Keep me with you, so that I may not be damned." He covered with confusion the captain of his nation, who came to effect the exchange, by asserting that the French and the Savages prayed much better than the English. Some days previously, at Québec, a young Englishman had, under similar circumstances, covered a minister with confusion in the presence of

Quelques jours auparavant, à Québec, un jeune Anglois, en pareille circonſtance, avoit fait la même confuſion à un miniſtre, en preſence de M. le Gouverneur. Quatre filles Angloiſes ont abſolument refuſé de retourner à Boſton, et ont mieux aimé demeurer avec nos Sauvages que de ſe mettre en danger, ont elles dit, d'eſtre perverties par les miniſtres. Une autre vient de me dire qu'elle eſtoit reſolue d'en faire autant, ne comptant pour rien, m'a-t-elle dit, la dureté de la vie miſérable et pauvre des Sauvages pour ſe conſerver dans la vraye religion. Sept petits Anglois ayant entendu parler que l'échange alloit ſe faire, ſe ſont cachés dans les bois, de peur qu'on ne les ramenaſt; deux autres, plus avancés en âge, et qui ſont morts, il y a quelques mois, après avoir fait icy leur première communion, m'avoient bien aſſurés qu'ils ne retourneroient point. Cette ferveur des Anglois parmy nous, doit faire honneur à nos bons Sauvages, qui ont un ſoin et un zèle admirable, pour les mener aux miſſionnaires, et pour les inſtruire eux mêmes, dès qu'ils les ont pris. Je les trouve d'abord fort prévenus contre nous; mais peu à peu ils ſe laiſſent perſuader par la dévotion et par l'aſſiduité à la prière de nos Abnaquis; ce qu'ils ne voient point, diſent ils, dans leur colonie.

Je vous écris cecy, mon reverend Père, ſur le bord de la mer, où je ſuis avec nos ſauvages, qui y ſont venus pour traitter de paix avec un vaiſſeau anglois qui y eſt à la rade. Le voyage m'a extremement fatigué, outre que nous manquons quaſi de vivres à cauſe du mauvais temps; j'en avois un peu apporté; mais dès la première nuit, un chreſtien, qui avoit

Monsieur the Governor. Four English girls positively refused to return to Boston, and preferred to live with our Savages rather than run the risk, they said, of being perverted by the ministers. Another came to tell me that she was resolved to do the same; for she said that she thought nothing of enduring the hardships of the miserable and wretched life led by the Savages, provided she remained in the true religion. Seven little English boys, who heard of the exchange that was to be effected, hid themselves in the woods, through fear of being taken away. Two others who were older, and who died some months ago after making their first communion here, had assured me positively that they would not return. This fervor of the English among us does honor to our good Savages, who display admirable care and zeal in bringing them to the missionaries, and in themselves instructing them as soon as they take them. At first I find them greatly prejudiced against us, but they gradually allow themselves to be persuaded by the devotion of our Abnaquis and their zeal for prayer — which they do not find, they say, in their colony.

I write you this, my reverend Father, from the sea-shore, where I am with my savages who have come to treat for peace with an english ship now in the harbor. The journey fatigued me greatly; and, moreover, we were almost without food on account of the bad weather. I had brought a little with me; but, on the very first night, a christian who had a good appetite ate the leathern bag in which I had put it, and did not spare the contents. We regale ourselves with oysters, which we procure when the tide is low; that is, indeed, all that we have had to

bon appetit, mangea le ſac de cuir où je les avois mis et n'épargne pas ce qu'il y avoit dedans. Nous nous regalons d'huitres, que nous allons prendre, quand la mer eſt baſſe: c'eſt auſſi tout ce que nous avons à manger, depuis quelque temps. Le capitaine du vaiſſeau dit d'abord que le Gouverneur de la Nouvelle Angleterre vouloit abſolument que les Abnaquis chaſſaſſent les miſſionaires françois, et qu'il leur en donneroit de ſa nation. Nous n'en ferons rien, dirent auſſitoſt les capitaines Abnaquis. Vous voudriez nous faire prier comme vous, mais vous n'en viendrez pas à bout. La propoſition des Anglois les a tellement irrités, qu'ils ont répondu que l'Anglois eut à ſortir de leur pays, qu'ils ne ſouffriroient jamais, qu'il s'y établiſſe: que par leur choix ils s'eſtoient donnés au grand capitaine des François et qu'ils ne reconnoiſſoient que luy. Les Anglois en ont mal uſé d'ailleurs, en retenant depuis trois ans, malgré leur parole donnée pluſieurs fois, deux Abnaquis, par lesquels ils ont retiré des mains de ces ſauvages plus de trente Anglois, promettant toujours de rendre ceux qu'on leur avoit demandé, et cependant n'en avoient encore rien fait. Il faut avouer auſſi que d'un autre coſté, les Abnaquis, animés par cette perfidie, leur ont pris et tué bien de monde.

Le capitaine anglois m'a fait faire beaucoup d'honnêtetés, m'invitant même à venir ſur ſon bord; mais je n'ay eu garde de me mettre ainſi entre ſes mains; si je l'avois fait, je crois que de longtemps je n'aurois revu ma chère Miſſion. Je me ſuis contenté de lui eſcrire une lettre de remerciement. Je pars pour Quebec avec quelques uns de nos ſauvages, pour

eat for some time. At first the captain of the ship said that the Governor of New England insisted upon the Abnaquis driving away the french missionaries, and that he would give them some of his own nation. "We will do nothing of the kind," the Abnaquis captains at once replied. "You may try to make us pray as you do, but you will not succeed." The proposal made by the English irritated them to such an extent that they answered that the English must quit their country; that they would never suffer them to settle there; that, of their own free will, they had given themselves to the great captain of the French, and that they acknowledged him alone. The English, moreover, have treated them badly; for, in spite of their word pledged on several occasions, they have for three years detained two Abnaquis, through whom they have withdrawn more than thirty English from the hands of those savages, by always promising to give up those who were demanded of them; and, nevertheless, they have not yet done so. It must also be admitted, on the other hand, that the Abnaquis, irritated by this treachery, have captured and killed many of the English people.

The english captain showed me much attention, and even invited me on board his ship; but I was careful not to place myself in his hands by doing so. Had I done this, I think that I would not have seen my beloved Mission again for a long time. I contented myself with writing him a letter of thanks. I am about to leave for Quebec, with some of our savages, to report to Monsieur the Governor what passed during that interview with the English.

I have just arrived from Quebec, after paying my

rendre compte à Mr. le Gouverneur de ce qui s'eſt paſſé dans cette entrevue avec l'Anglois.

J'arrive de Quebec, après avoir ſalué et entretenu Monsieur le Gouverneur qui eſt très content de la maniere dont nos Abnaquis, ont repondu aux Anglois. Je m'etois remis au plus toſt ſur les glaces, afin d'arriver à l'Acadie avant que les rivières fuſſent dépriſes; mais le degel me ſurprit au bout de quelques jours, ce qui augmenta la fatigue du voyage de telle ſorte qu'une groſſe fièvre me prit: je croyois en mourir le jour de l'Annonciation de la Sainte Vierge, et on me ramena le mieux qu'on pût à Quebec, où j'ai eſté malade près de cinq ſemaines. Je repartis enfin après Pâques, et par mon retour je donnai bien de la joye à mes chers ſauvages, qui me croyoient mort. Auſſitoſt je me mis à parcourir les trois villages, pour les confeſſer, leur faire faire leurs Pâques, et les fortifier contre les ſollicitations des Anglois, qui font tout ce qu'ils peuvent pour les engager à recevoir des miniſtres. Toutes ces fatigues m'ont redonné la fievre, je n'ay pas laiſſe cependant de faire toutes mes fonctions et je n'ay paſſé qu'un jour ſans avoir eu la conſolation de dire la meſſe.

Je ſuis, de Votre Révérence
Mon Révérend Père
Le très humble et
très obéiſſant ſerviteur
JACQUES BIGOT.

respects to and conversing with Monsieur the Governor, who is very well pleased with the answer given by our Abnaquis to the English. I set out at once on the ice to reach Acadia before the rivers broke up, but the thaw overtook me at the end of a few days; this greatly increased the fatigue of the journey — to such an extent, that I was attacked by a violent fever. I thought that I would die from it, on the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin; and they took me back, as well as they could, to Quebec, where I was ill for nearly five weeks. At last I started once more, after Easter; and my return caused great joy among my beloved savages, who thought me dead. I at once set about visiting the three villages to confess the savages, to make them perform their Easter duties, and to strengthen them against the solicitations of the English — who do everything in their power to induce them to receive ministers. All these fatigues have brought on a second attack of fever. Nevertheless, I perform all my duties; and not a day has passed without my having the consolation of saying mass.

I remain, of Your Reverence,

My Reverend Father,

The very humble and

very obedient servant,

JACQUES BIGOT.

CLXXV — CLXXVII

Documents of 1701-1702

CLXXV.— Relation ou Journal du voyage du Pere Gravier, de la Compagnie de Jesus en 1700 depuis le Pays des Illinois Jusqu'a l'Embouchure du Fleuve Mississipi. Du Fort de Mississipi a 17. Lieües de sa decharge dans le Golfe ou mer Mexique, Le 16e. Feuvrier 1701

CLXXVI.— Les Revenus des Jésuites en Canada, 1701. Martin Bouvart, François Vallant; Pierre Rafaix; Quebec, ce 4e Octobre, 1701

CLXXVII.— Lettre du R. P. Étienne de Carheil à M. Louis Hector de Callières, gouverneur. A Michilimakina, le 30 d'aoust, 1702

SOURCES: In publishing all three of these documents, we follow original MSS. in Paris archives; that of Doc. CLXXV. rests in the archives of l'École de Ste. Geneviève; of Doc. CLXXVI., in the archives of the Ministère des Colonies; and of Doc. CLXXVII., in the Archives Nationales.

Relation ou Journal du voyage du Pere Gravier, de la Compagnie de Jesus en 1700 depuis le Pays des Illinois Jusqu'a l'Embouchure du Fleuve Mississipi

écrit au Pere de Lamberuille et Envoyé du Fort de Mississipi a 17. Lieües de sa decharge dans le Golfe ou mer Mexique Le 16e. Feuvrier 1701

Mon Reverend Pere.

Pax X[1].

J'ay recû a mon retour de Michilimachinack la lettre que vous m'auez fait l'honneur de mecrire par le Mississipy Inscrite au Pere Aueneau qui me la envoyée a Chikagoüa, d'ou je Suis party en 1700 le 8e. Septembre pour venir icy. je suis arriué trop tard aux Illinois du detroit dont le Pere Marest a soin, pour empescher la transmigration du Village des Kaskaskia qu'on a fait auec trop de precipitation sur les nouuelles incertaines de l'etablissement de Mississipi. Je ne crois pas que les Kaskaskia se fassent ainsi separez des Peoüarooüa, et des autres Illinois du détroit, si J'y fusse arrivé plûtost, J'y suis du moins venu assez tôt pour reunir un peu les esprits, et pour empêcher l'insulte que les Peoüaroüa et les Moüingoüeña êtoient resolus de faire aux Kaskaskia et aux François en s'embarquant. J'ay parlé a tous les Chefs en plein Conseil, et comme ils conseruent toujours quelque respect et quelque bonne volonté pour moy, l'on s'est separé fort

Relation or Journal of the voyage of Father Gravier, of the Society of Jesus, in 1700, from the Country of the Illinois To the Mouth of the Mississipi River.

Written to Father de Lamberville and Sent from Fort Mississipi, 17 Leagues from its discharge into the Mexican Gulf or sea, on The 16th of February, 1701.

My Reverend Father,
Pax Christi.

I received on my return from Michilimachinack the letter that you did me the honor of writing to me by way of the Mississipy, Addressed to Father Aveneau, who sent it to me at Chikagoua — whence I started in 1700, on the 8th of September, to come here. I arrived too late among the Illinois of the strait — of whom Father Marest has charge — to prevent the migration of the Village of the Kaskaskia, which has been too precipitately made, in consequence of uncertain news respecting the Mississipi settlement. I do not think that the Kaskaskia would have thus separated from the Peouarooua and from the other Illinois of the strait, if I could have arrived sooner.[11] I reached them at least soon enough to conciliate their minds to some extent, and to prevent the insult that the Peouaroua and the Mouingoueña were resolved to offer the Kaskaskia and the French when they embarked. I addressed all the Chiefs in full Council, and, as they continue to retain some respect and good will for me, they parted very

paisiblement. Mais je n'augure rien de bon de cette Separation que j'ay toujours empeschée n'en voyant que trop les mauuaises suites; Et Dieu veüille que le chemin de Chikagoüa au détroit ne soit pas fermé, et que toute la mission Illinoise n'en souffre beaucoup. Je vous auoüe mon R^d^. P. que j'ay le cœur serré de voir mon ancien troupeau ainsi diuisé, et dispersé, et je ne le reverray pas, apres l'auoir quitté que je n'aye quelque nouueau Sujet d'affliction. des Peoüaroüa que j'ay laissés sans missionaire (puis que le P. Marest a Suiui les Kaskaskia) m'ont promis quils conserueroient l'Eglise, et qu'ils attendroient mon retour de Mississipi, ou je leur ay dit que je n'allois que pour masseurer de la verité de tout ce qu'on en disoit; ce qui leur a fait grand plaisir, ils m'ont promis qu'ils ne quitteroient pas leur Village que je ne leur marquasse ou le grand Chef qui est aubas du Fleuue voudroit qu'ils le transportassent. Je doute fort qu'ils tiennent leur parole. Apres avoir marché quattre jours avec les Kaskaskia, J'ay pris les deuants auec Le P. Marest que j'ay laissé malade aux Tamarouha, ou le P. Pinet fait paisiblement toutes les Fonctions de Missionnaire, Et M^r^. Bergier qui en agit fort bien auec nous, n'a soin que des François, et c'est une bonne decharge pour le Pere Pinet. Je Suis parti des Tamarouha le 9e. Octobre pour venir icy au bas du Mississipi au secours du pere du Ru. J'estois accompagné de 5 Canots de françois, pour moy je n'auois dans mon Canot que le frere Guibert, et un François malade de la fieure tierce. a 2 Lieuës du village je trouuay les Tamarouha, qui ont pris leur quartier d'hyuer dans une belle Anse, ou ils attendent les Metchigamia,

peaceably. But I augur no good from this Separation, which I have always opposed, for I foresaw but too well the evil consequences that would result from it. And may God grant that the road from Chikagoua to the strait be not closed, and that the entire Illinois mission may not suffer greatly thereby. I admit to you, my Reverend Father, that my heart is heavy at seeing my former flock thus divided and scattered; and I shall never see it again, after having left it, without having some new Cause for affliction. The Peouaroua, whom I left without a missionary (for Father Marest has Followed the Kaskaskia), promised me that they would preserve the Church, and await my return from Mississipi — whither, I told them, I was going solely for the purpose of ascertaining the truth of all that was said of it. This gave them great pleasure; they promised me that they would never leave their Village until I should inform them to what place the great Chief who is at the lower end of the River wished them to remove. I am very doubtful whether they will keep their word. After journeying four days with the Kaskaskia, I went on ahead with Father Marest, whom I left ill among the Tamarouha, where Father Pinet performs in peace all the Duties of a Missionary. Meanwhile, Monsieur Bergier, who works very well with us, has charge of the French only, which is a great relief for Father Pinet.[12] I left the Tamarouha on the 9th of October to come here, at the lower end of the Mississipi, to the assistance of father du Ru.[13] I was accompanied by 5 Canoes manned by frenchmen. For my part, I had in my Canoe only brother Guibert, and a Frenchman who was ill with tertian fever. At 2 Leagues from the

qui doiuent venir de plus de 60. lieües hyuerner, et ne faire qu'un village auec eux: L'un de nos missionnaires les doit visiter durant tout l'hyuer de 2. en 2. jours, et en faire autant aux Kaöukia, qui ont pris leur quartier d'hyuer a 4 lieuës plus haut que le village, Nous ne fimes que 4. lieuës le 1er. jour, a cause quun de nos Canots ouuert par un chicot caché dans l'eau nous arrestat pour le racõmoder. Le 10e. jour apres une lieuë de marche nous decouurimes la Riuiere Miaramigoüa ou est la mine de plomb tres abondante a 12 ou 13 lieuës de Son embouchure. Cette mine rend le 3 quarts, L'onzieme nous auons tué un bufle ou bœuf sauuage qui nous a coûté 10 ou 12 coups de Fusil tant il a bien defendu sa vie. La fieure qui a pris a mon pilote nous a obligés de mettre a terre a une heure apres midi, et en 5 jours quoi que le courant soit grand nous n'auons fait que 35 lieuës parceque nos malades nous obligent de mettre a terre de bonne heure, et a cause qu'on perd beaucoup de temps a tirer sur les bœufs sauuages dont la Riuiere est bordée, et qu'on laisse presque tous a manger aux loups. Le 14e. nous auons doublé le cap Ste. Croix. C'est un petit rocher qui fait au Nord de Mississipi une petite Isle sur laquelle Mr. de Montigny a fait planter une Croix, on a tué 2. Ours, Le 15e. continuation du beau temps, nous auons vû ce jour la plus de 50. ours, et de tous ceux que nous auons tuez, nous n'en auons pris que 4 pour en auoir de l'huile. Ceux qui descendoient le long du Mississipi etoient maigres, et Ceux qui venoient du côté de la riuiere oüabachei étoient gras: Ils alloient continuellement du Sud au Nord, Il faut qu'il y fasse meilleur pour Eux. On trouue

village I found the Tamarouha, who have taken up their winter quarters in a fine Bay, where they await the Metchigamia,—who are to come more than 60 leagues to winter there, and to form but one village with them. One of our missionaries will visit them every 2nd day throughout the winter and do the same for the Kaoukia, who have taken up their winter quarters 4 leagues above the village. We made only 4 leagues the 1st day, because one of our Canoes was split by a snag hidden in the water, and we had to halt in order to repair it. On the 10th day, after proceeding a league, we discovered the River Miaramigoua, where the very rich lead mine is situated, 12 or 13 leagues from Its mouth. The ore from this mine yields 3 fourths metal.[14] On the eleventh we killed a buffalo, or wild ox; he cost us 10 or 12 Gunshots, so well did he defend his life. The fever that attacked my pilot forced us to land an hour after noon; and in 5 days, although the current was strong, we traveled only 35 leagues—because our sick men compelled us to land early; and because much time was lost in shooting the wild oxen that abound along the River, almost all of which are left to be eaten by the wolves. The 14th. We have doubled cape Ste. Croix. This is a small rock forming a little Island, on the North side of the Mississipi, on which Monsieur de Montigny has had a Cross erected. We killed 2 Bears there. The 15th. The fine weather continues. To-day we saw over 50 bears, and of all that we killed we took only 4, in order to obtain some fat. Those that came down the Mississipi were lean, and Those that came from the direction of the river ouabachei were fat. They were continually moving from the South to the North; It

quantité d'Isles et de Battures dans le cours du fleuue Mississipi, Depuis les Tamarouha jusques a la Riuiere Oüabachi; cette riuiere garde assez son run de vent du Nord au Sud; mais á 3 ou 4 lieuës de Oüabachi, elle commence a tourner au Nord, Nord-oüest, et ne fait que serpenter, Nous n'auons pû juger par la route que nous auons faite le 15e quel run de vent elle suit. Le Pere Marquette (qui en fit le 1er. la decouuerte il y a prez de 30 ans) se met dans son journal a 3 lieuës de Oüabachi a 36. degrez et 47. minutes; Nous auons cabané a la veuë de cette Riuiere qui vient du Sud et se decharge dans le Mississipi. A son Embouchure elle fait un grand bassin, a 2. arpens de Sa decharge: Elle s'appelle par les Illinois et par les Oumiamis la Riuiere des Akansea, parceque les Akansea l'habitoient autrefois. Ou luy donne 3 branches l'une qui vient du Nord-est, qui passe derriere le pays des Oumiamis nommée la Riuiere S^{t}. Joseph que les sauuages appellent proprement Ouabachi. La 2de. vient des Iroquois, et c'est ce qu'ils appellent Ohio, et la 3e. du Sud Sudouest sur laquelle Sont les Chaoüanoüa, et se reunissant toutes 3 pour se jetter dans le Mississipi, on l'appelle communement Ouabachi: mais les Illinois et les autres Sauuages lappellent la Riuiere des Akansea, l'eau en est Claire, elle ne paroist pas fort rapide, Elle se jette doucement dans le Mississipi, qui perd un peu de sa couleur bourbeuse que luy a donnée la Riuiere des Missouris.

J'ay trouué un excellent remede pour guerir nos François de leur fieure. J'ay promis a Dieu conjointement auec Pierre de bonne qui auoit une violente fieure tierce depuis un temps considerable de reciter

must be better there for Them. There are a great many Islands and Shoals along the course of the Mississipi river, From the Tamarouha to the Ouabachi River; this river keeps its course well from North to South, but, at a distance of 3 or 4 leagues from Ouabachi it begins to turn to the North-Northwest, and does nothing but meander. We were enabled to judge of its course by the route that we followed on the 15th. Father Marquette (who was 1st to discover it, nearly 30 years ago) puts it in his journal as being, at a distance of 3 leagues from Ouabachi, at 36 degrees and 47 minutes. We encamped in sight of that River, which flows from the South and discharges into the Mississipi. At its Mouth it forms a wide basin, 2 arpents from Its discharge. It is called by the Illinois and by the Oumiamis the River of the Akansea, because the Akansea formerly dwelt on it. It is said to have 3 branches: one coming from the Northeast, which flows at the rear of the country of the Oumiamis, called the River St. Joseph, which the savages properly call Ouabachi; The 2nd comes from the Iroquois country, and is what they call the Ohio; the 3rd from the South-Southwest, on which Are the Chaouanoua. As all 3 unite to fall into the Mississipi, the stream is commonly called Ouabachi; but the Illinois and other Savages call it the River of the Akansea. Its water is Clear; it does not appear to be very rapid. It flows gently into the Mississipi, which loses a little of its muddy color, given it by the River of the Missouris.

I have found an excellent remedy for curing our French of their fever. I promised God, jointly with Pierre de bonne,—who had a violent tertian fever for a long time,—to recite for 9 days some prayers

pendant 9 jours quelques prieres en l'honneur du Pere François Regis dont j'ay des reliques, que je lui ay appliqueés dans le Fort de Son accés, qui a cessé tout a coup, et ne la plus depuis ce temps la: Apres la 9^{aine}. je lui ay repris mon reliquaire que j'ay pendu au col de Louis du Hemme de la Riuiere du Loup auec qui j'ay commencé une 2de. 9^{ne}. et dés le 1er. jour la fieure la quitté, et luy ayant ôté mon Reliquaire le 4 ou 5e. jour de la 9^{aine}. pour le pendre au col d'un nommé Augustin la pointe de la Coste de S^{t}. Michel en Canada, qui auoit déja eü 2 au 3 accés de fieure, Elle a repris du Hemme, qui m'auoit dit se voyant guery que je n'auois garde d'estre malade, ayant toujours ce Reliquaire pendu au col, et dés que je le luy ôté la fieure la repris, et ne la quitté qu'apres la neuuaine, et la Pointe en a été parfaitement guery dez le 1er. jour que je luy ay pendu mon Reliquaire au col, que je ne luy ay pas repris qu'apres la 9^{aine}. accomplie. Et a l'heure qu'il est Pierre Chabot de l'Isle d'Orleans, qui auoit la fieure depuis plus de six mois L'ayant pendu au col dès le 3e. jour de la 9^{ne}. cette fieure si opiniatre diminua et il en fut entierement quitte au bout de la 9^{aine}. Un petit morceau du chapeau du Pere François Regis, qu'un de nos domestiques m'a donné, est le remede le plus infaillible que je puisse auoir pour guerir toutes sortes de fieures.

Pour reprendre maintenant ma route, nous sommes partis le 16e. octob. de l'Embouchure de Oüabachi auec un fort beau temps, et nous auons trouué le Mississipi moins rapide qu'au dessus de Ouabachi. Comme nous auions grande quantité de viandes, nous en avons fait seicher a la haste une partie de la

in honor of Father François Regis, whose relics I have. These I applied to him at His Strongest paroxysm, which suddenly ceased, and he has had none since. After the novena, I took back my reliquary which I hung on the neck of Louis du Hemme, of Riviere du Loup.[15] I began a 2nd novena with him, and on the very 1st day the fever left him. I took my Reliquary from him on the 4th or 5th day of the novena, to hang it on the neck of a man named Augustin, from the point of Coste de St. Michel in Canada, who had already had 2 or 3 attacks of fever. It again attacked du Hemme — who, when he saw himself cured, had told me that I took care not to be sick, for I always had the Reliquary hung on my neck; and, as soon as I took it from him, the fever attacked him again and left him only after the novena. La Pointe was likewise cured, on the very 1st day when I hung my Reliquary on his neck; and I did not remove it until the novena was finished. At the very same time Pierre Chabot,[16] of the Island of Orleans, who had had the fever for over six months, hung It on his neck; and on the 3rd day of the novena that very persistent fever decreased, and he was entirely free from it at the end of the novena. A small piece of Father François Regis's hat, which one of our servants gave me, is the most infallible remedy that I know of for curing all kinds of fever.

Now, to resume our journey. We started on the 16th of october from the Mouth of the Ouabachi, in very fine weather; and we found the Mississipi less rapid than above Ouabachi. As we had a great quantity of meat, we hastily dried a portion of the best of it and the great heat compelled us to throw away the remainder. We saw so great a number of

meilleure, et les grandes chaleurs nous ont obligez de jetter le reste. Nous auons veu une si grande quantité de pigeons ramiers que l'air en êtoit tout couvert. Nous auons couru tout le jour au Sud Sud-est et a 5 lieuës au dessous de Oüabachi, Du costé du Sud nous auons trouué de grandes falaises de Sable ou l'on dit qu'il y a une mine de fer, les plaques de fer pretendu attachées a des Cailloux ne sont rien moins que ce qu'on en croit et qu'on m'a dit: Ce ne sont que des veines de terre dure et cõme petrifieés, qui ont a la verité la Couleur de Fer, mais qui ne pezent pas, et se cassent facilement. J'en ay pris un morceau pour faire voir que s'il y a une mine de fer on n'en doit pas juger par cette terre. Nous auons commencé un peu plus bas a decouurir des Cannes sur les Coteaux, Elles sont couvertes de Feüilles toujours vertes depuis le bas jusqu'a la pointe; qui se termine par un petit bouquet de Feuilles; elles n'ont pas plus de 7 a 8 pieds au bord des Coteaux; mais elles sont de 20. 30. et 40 pieds dans le bois, sur tout depuis les Akansea. le 18e. en 3 heures de marche nous auons Fait tout le tour du Compas, Et apres auoir couru un peu de temps a l'est Sud est, nous auons Fait encore le demi tour de la boussole dans une Anse de plus de 2 Lieuës que lon coupe quand les eaux sont hautes, Le 19e. nous auons rejoint les 2. Canots qui nous auoient quittés, Et vers les 2 heures apres midy nous auons trouué du costé du Nord a 3 ou 4 lieuës plus bas, au dela d'une petite prairie un Echo qui repete 5 mots distinctement, et ne commence a repeter ce qu'on a dit qu'apres qu'on a achevé de prononcer le dernier mot.

Le 20e. grande Chaleur nous auons couché a la veuë

wood-pigeons that the sky was quite hidden by them. We traveled all day in a South-Southeasterly direction; and 5 leagues below Ouabachi, On the South side, we found lofty Sand-cliffs, where an iron mine is said to exist. The pretended scales of iron attached to the Stones are not what they are believed to be, and what I was told. They are nothing but veins of earth, hard and apparently petrified, which have in truth the Color of Iron, but have no weight and break easily. I took a piece of it, in order to show that, if there be an iron mine there, one cannot judge of it by that earth. A short distance below, we began to discover Canes on the Hills. They are covered with evergreen Leaves from the base to the summit, which ends in a small tuft of Leaves. They are not more than 7 or 8 feet high at the edge of the Hills; but they are 20, 30, and 40 feet high in the woods, especially below the Akansea. The 18th. In 3 hours' traveling we have Gone around the Compass; And, after running to the east-Southeast for a short time, we again Went half around the compass in a Cove of over 2 Leagues, which one cuts across when the waters are high. The 19th. We rejoined the 2 Canoes that had left us, And about 2 o'clock in the afternoon we found on the North side — 3 or 4 leagues farther down, beyond a small prairie — an Echo that repeats 5 words distinctly, and, begins repeating what has been said only after the last word has been pronounced.

The 20th. Very Hot. We slept in sight of high rocky bluffs called fort prud'homme, because when Monsieur de la Salle was on His voyage of discovery, he remained intrenched there with his people

de grandes ecores de pierres, qu'on appelle le fort prud'homme, parceque Mr. de la Salle allant a Sa decouuerte se tint retranché la auec ses gens craignant que Prudomme qui s'etoit égaré dans le bois n'eut eté tué par les Sauuages, et qu'il n'en fut luy même attaqué. On tua l'année precedente quantité d'Ours en ce lieu la. La pluye nous a arrestés le 22 et le 23e. sur une grande batture de Sable d'ou nous auons gaigné une Isle ou il y auoit du bois petrifié je ne sçay si c'est quelq. source ou quelque veine d'eau qui a cette vertu, comme il y a en Auuergne sur les Confins du Bourbonnois, une fontaine minerale qui petrifie les feuilles des Arbres qui tombent dedans: ou si c'est le soleil qui noircit et durcit de petits morceaux de bois pourri qui restent sur le Sable apres les grandes eaux; quoy qu'il en soit j'en ay veu et de gros et de petits, on n'en peut guere douter; car il y en a qui ne sont pas encore tout a fait petrifiez, et qui sont partie bois et partie pierre noire qui se rompt assez aisement, et qui s'effeüille en se rompant. un forgeron qui etoit de la bande, prenoit le bois petrifié pour du Charbon de terre, mais outre qu'il n'est pas si pesant, Il a esté conuaincu du contraire en le jettant au feu. Le 24e. Nous auons trouué quantité de raisins, mais qui n'est rien moins que ce qu'on m'en auoit dit, et qui n'est ni si bon ny si gros que celui que l'on trouue dans la Riuiere des Ilinois Et dans la Riuiere des Miamis sur tout et en plus grande quantité

Le 25e. Il est tombé une si grosse pluye quil nous a fallu monter sur le Coteau de plus de 30 pieds de haut, et y transporter nôtre Cabanne; Le 26e. nous auons passé la Riuiere a Mayot au Sud du nom d'un

through fear that Prudomme, who had lost his way in the woods, had been killed by the Savages, and that he himself would be attacked. During the previous year, a great many Bears were killed here. On the 22nd and 23rd, the rain detained us on a great Sand-bank, from which we reached an Island on which was some petrified wood. I know not whether there is a spring or vein of water possessing that virtue, as there is in Auvergne, on the Confines of Bourbonnois — a mineral spring, that petrifies the leaves of Trees that fall into it; or whether it is the sun that blackens and hardens small pieces of decayed wood that lie on the Sand after the high waters. At all events, I have seen large and small pieces of it. There can be no doubt of it, for there are some that are not yet petrified, and are partly wood and partly black stone, that break quite easily and exfoliate on breaking. A blacksmith who was of the party took the petrified wood for mineral Coal; but, besides the fact of its not being so heavy, He was convinced of the contrary when he threw it into the fire. The 24th. We found a quantity of grapes, but much fewer than I had been told; and they are neither as good nor as large as those found on the River of the Ilinois, And especially on the River of the Miamis, where they are found in greater quantities.

The 25th. So heavy a rain fell that we were compelled to ascend the Hill, which was over 30 feet high, and to transport thither our Cabin. The 26th. We passed, on the South, the Riviere a Mayot, called thus after a savage of the Loup nation who was with Monsieur de la Salle on his voyage of discovery. That River does not seem very wide;

sauuage de la nation des Loups qui êtoit de la decouuerte de Mr. de la Salle. Cette Riuiere ne paroist pas fort grande, mais l'on dit que c'est un bon lieu de Chasse et que les Chikacha y viennent jusqu'a l'Embouchure et qu'ils n'en sont eloignez que de 3 jours a couper au midy par dans les terres. A une lieuë ou 2 plus bas nous auons trouué une pirogue de Taögria, ce Sont des gens de la nation du loup qui ont grand commerce auec les Anglois, Il n'y auoit que 6 hommes, une femme, et un Enfant, ils venoient des Akansea, celuy qui me paroissoit le plus considerable disoit quelques mots Ilinois et parloit Chaöuanoüa: Il m'a fait asseoir sur une peau d'Ours étendue deuant sa Cabanne de Campagne, et m'a presenté de la sagamité à manger; ensuitte il ma dit pour nouuelle que le Pere de Limoges (qu'il nommoit le Capitaine Pauiongha) auoit tourné en Canot, et auoit tout perdu; et que les Kappa akansea luy auoient donné des viures et un Canot pour continuer sa route. Je luy ay donné un Couteau, et une demie boïette de vermillion, il ma fait present d'un fort gros morçeau de viande de sa chasse. Une lieuë apres l'auoir quitté nous auons tué 4 biches. Nous ne nous attendions pas a une si heureuse rencontre: aussi n'auons nous ny tué ny vû aucune beste depuis la riuiere a Mayot jusqu'a la mer. Le 27e. nous auons passé la riuiere de St. françois a la pointe d'un détour au Nord a 18 lieues des Akansea.

Le 29e. en partant de nre Cabanage, nous auons couru a loüest, et ensuitte nous auons tenu le Soroüest vers le midi, nous auons decouuert 4 pirogues d'Akansea, quand mon Canot a êté proche de terre, un veillard s'est mis a l'eau, et m a porté a

but it is said to be a good Hunting-ground, and that the Chikacha come down as far as its Mouth, from which they are distant only 3 days' journey inland, to the south.[17] A league or 2 lower, we found a pirogue of Taögria; these Belong to the loup nation, and carry on a considerable trade with the English. There were only 6 men in it, with a woman and a Child; they were coming from the Akansea. He who seemed the most notable among them could say a few words of Ilinois, and spoke the Chaouanoua tongue. He made me sit on a Bearskin spread in front of his Traveling Cabin, and offered me some sagamité to eat. He afterward told me, as news, that Father de Limoges (whom he called Captain Pauiongha) had upset while in his Canoe, and had lost everything; and that the Kappa akansea had supplied him with provisions and a Canoe, to continue his voyage.[18] I gave him a Knife and half a box of vermilion; he made me a present of a very large piece of meat, the produce of his hunting. A league from the spot where we had left him, we killed 4 does. We did not expect such good fortune, and we neither killed nor saw a single animal from the riviere a Mayot to the sea. The 27th. We passed the river St. françois, at the point of a bend to the North 18 leagues from the Akansea.

The 29th. On leaving our Camp, we ran in a westerly direction, and then we headed Southwest. Toward noon, we came upon 4 pirogues of Akansea; when my Canoe approached the bank, an old man entered the water and carried me upon his Shoulders to the land. The Chief made me sit on a large Bearskin, and the french on Willow branches, which he had caused his young men to cut. He made me a

terre sur ses Epaules, Le Chef m'a fait asseoir sur une grande peau d'Ours, et les francois sur des branches de Saules qu'il auoit fait couper par ses jeunes gens, Il m'a fait present de 2. pains de piakimina que j'ay distribués aux françois, Et affligé que j'estois de ce qu'ils ne m'entendoient pas leur voulant parler de Dieu, je me suis retiré pour le prier pour eux, durant que les Chaudieres boüillloient. on m'a Seruy un plat de Sagamité de petit bled dinde, et un autre de petit bled entier, assaisonné d'excellentes citroüilles: j'ay fait un petit present au Chef de la Bande et le 30e. nous sommes allés Cabanner une lieuë plus bas a une demi lieuë de l'ancien Village des Akansea (ou ils recûrent autrefois le Feu Pere Marquette) et qu'on ne reconnoist plus que par les vieux dehors sans qu'il reste aucune Cabanne; le 31e. nous sommes arrivés vers les 9. h. du matin au Village des Kappa Akansea, qui sont a 24 degrez selon l'estime du P. Marquette. Le Village est a une demie lieuë du bord de l'eau. Mr. de Montigny a fait planter une Croix sur le Coteau qui est fort escarpé et de 40 pieds de haut, apres auoir salué la Croix et chanté le Vexilla Regis auec les Francois, on a averty les Akansea par 3 coups de Fusil, et en moins de demi quart d'heure tout au plus, deux Jeunes hom̃es ont paru le Sabre a la main suiuis de prés du Chef des Kappa, et de celui des Tourima, et de 20 ou 30 jeunes hommes bienfaits avec leurs Arcs et leurs fleches, quelqu'uns auoient des sabres, et 2 ou 3 fusils Anglois, que leur auoit donné celui qui l'année precedente leur auoit apporté quantité de marchandises pour les aliener des françois et surtout des Missionnaires a qui il en vouloit,

present of 2 loaves of piakimina,[19] which I distributed among the french. And, as I was grieved because they would not listen to me when I wished to speak of God, I withdrew to pray for them while the Kettles were boiling. I was Served with a dish of Sagamité made of green indian corn; and another of whole ears of green corn, seasoned with excellent squashes. I gave a small present to the Chief of the Party; and on the 30th we Encamped a league lower down, half a league from the old Village of the Akansea (where they formerly received the Late Father Marquette), which is now recognized only by its old outworks, for not a Cabin remains. The 31st. We arrived, about 9 o'clock in the morning, at the Village of the Kappa Akansea, who are on the 24th degree, according to Father Marquette's calculation. The Village is half a league from the water's edge. Monsieur de Montigny had erected a Cross on the Hill, which is very steep and 40 feet high. After saluting the Cross, and chanting the *Vexilla Regis* with the French, we gave notice to the Akansea by 3 Gunshots; and in less than ten minutes, at the most, two Young men appeared with Swords in their hands,—closely followed by the Chief of the Kappa and that of the Tourima,[20] and 20 or 30 well-formed young men with their Bows and arrows. Some had swords and 2 or 3 English guns, which had been given them by the person who, the year before, had brought a quantity of goods to them to alienate them from the french, and especially from the Missionaries—against whom he bore malice, for he had boasted that he would put in irons and kill the 1st that he should meet. The french, who Seized him, found material for making a pair of manacles with

s'estant vanté quil mettroit aux fers le 1er. quil rencontreroit et le feroit mourir; les françois qui se Saisirent de lui trouuerent de quoy luy faire une paire de menotes auec des fers, et l'ont empesché de Faire tout le mal qu'il se proposoit de Faire; Il auoit deja 2. Concubines aux Kappa. Au reste les Chefs m'inuiterent d'aller a leur village, qui est de 40. Cabannes, une partie des françois m'y accompagnerent, tandis que les autres gardoient les Canots a l'ancre. On me conduisit dans la Cabanne du Chef, qui ma fait asseoir sur une natte de Cannes faconnée, et on a mis en même temps la Chaudiere sur le feu de petit bled d'inde assaisonné d'une grande quantité de pesches séches on ma apporté d'une autre Cabanne un grand plat de fruit de Piakimina Mûr, Il est a peu pres comme la nefle de France; Le plat a êté presenté au Chef pour me le donner; Comme c'est le plus excellent fruit qu'ayent les sauuages depuis les Ilinois jusqu'a la mer, ce Chef n'a pas manqué de commencer par la son festin. apres en auoir un peu goûté, J'ay fait porter le plat au frere Guibert, et aux françois qui etoient assis vis a vis de moy, J'en ay fait autant de la Sagamité: J'ay remarqué que tous Ceux qui entroient dans la Cabanne se tenoient de bout a la porte, et ne s'auançoient que quand le Chef leur auoit dit de le faire et de s'asseoir. Il c'est trouué une femme metchigamikoüé qui ma serui d'interprete, et qui m'a confirmé le naufrage du Pere de Limogés qui a perdu tout ce quil auoit: Elle luy a donné sa prouision de bled et de Citroüilles pour le conduire jusqu'aux Natchés, et le Chef luy a donné un pot de terre apres l'auoir regalé le moins mal qu'il a pû; Je luy ay demandé s'il se souuenoit

iron chains, and prevented him from Doing any of the evil that he intended to Do. He had already 2 Concubines among the Kappa. However, the Chiefs invited me to go to their village, which consists of 40 Cabins. A number of the french accompanied me, while the others kept the Canoes at anchor. They took me to the Cabin of the Chief, who made me sit down on a mat of Canes adorned with figures, and at the same time they put on the fire the Kettle, containing green indian corn seasoned with a large quantity of dried peaches. They brought me from another Cabin a large dish of Ripe fruit of the Piakimina, which is almost like the medlar of France. The dish was handed to the Chief to give to me. As it is the most delicious fruit that the savages have from the Ilinois to the sea, the Chief did not fail to begin his feast with it. After tasting a little of it, I had the dish carried to brother Guibert and to the frenchmen, who sat opposite me. I did the same with the Sagamité. I observed that all who entered the Cabin remained standing at the door, and advanced only when the Chief told them to do so and to sit down. There was a metchigamikoué woman who acted as my interpreter, and who confirmed the news of Father de Limogés's wreck with the loss of all that he had. She gave him her supply of corn and Squashes, to assist him on his journey to the Natchés; and the Chief gave him an earthen pot, after regaling him as well as he could. I asked him whether he remembered having formerly seen in their village a frenchman, clad in black, and dressed as I was. He replied that he remembered it very well, but that it was so long ago that he could not count the years. I told him that it was more than

d'auoir autrefois vû un françois vetû de noir dans leur village, habille comme [moy] Jl me repondit qu'il s'en souuenoit bien, mais qu'il y auoit si long-tems qu'il ne pouuoit pas compter les années, Je luy ay dit qu'il y auoit plus de 28 ans, Il ma ajousté qu'ils luy auoient dançé le Calumet de Capitaine, ce que je n'ay pas compris sur le champ, croyant qu'il parloit du Calumet des Ilinois que les Kaskaskia auoient donné au Pere Marquette pour le porter auec Soy dans le Mississipi comme une Sauvegarde, mais j'ay trouvé dans le journal du Pere quils luy auoient en effet dancé le Calumet; Jl ma fait demander ensuite dans combien de jours je partirois, et luy ayant dit que je n'auois mis a terre que pour le salüer dans sa Cabanne, Et que j'allois m'embarquer; Il ma prié de rester tout au moins un jour pour me faire preparer des viures, et que tous les jeunes gens de Son village etoient bien aise de me voir. J'ay repondu a son compliment, et que j'estois pressé de me rendre. Je m'etois informé auparauant, S'il n'y auoit point de malades: mon Jnterprete ma fait entendre quil n'y en auoit point Enfin apres bien des allées et des venües et bien des consultations auec ses gens, ce Chef du village m'a prié de rester jusqu'au lendemain, parcequ'il vouloit auec sa jeunesse me chanter le Calumet de Chef: Comme c'est un honneur bien particulier qui ne se fait que rarement et seulem[t]. aux personnes de distinction je le remerciay de Sa bonne volonté disant que je ne m'estimois pas Capitaine, et que je partois sur le Champ. ma reponse plut aux Francois; mais elle ne fut guere agreable a tous les autres qui en me Faisant cet honneur esperoit en tirer des presens; le Chef me conduisit

28 years ago.[21] He also told me that they had danced to him the Captain's Calumet — which I did not at first understand, for I thought that he spoke of the Calumet of the Ilinois, which the Kaskaskia had given to Father Marquette to carry with Him in the Mississipi country, as a Safeguard; but I have found, in the Father's journal, that they had indeed danced the Calumet to him. He afterward caused me to be asked in how many days I would start, and, when I told him that I had landed merely to greet him in his Cabin, And that I was about to reëmbark, He begged me to remain at least a day, that he might have provisions prepared for me; and he said that all the young men of His village were much pleased to see me. I replied to his compliment, and said that I was anxious to reach my destination. I had previously inquired Whether there were any sick people; but my Interpreter gave me to understand that there were none. Finally, after much going and coming, and many consultations with his people, the Chief of the village asked me to remain until the following day, because he wished with his young men to sing the Chief's Calumet for me. This is a very special honor, which is paid but seldom, and only to persons of distinction; so I thanked him for His good will, saying that I did not consider myself a Captain, and that I was about to leave at Once. My answer pleased the French, but was not very agreeable to all the others who, in Doing me that honor, hoped to gain presents from me. The Chief escorted me to the Water's edge, accompanied by all his people; and they brought me a quantity of dried peaches, of Piachimina, and of Squashes. I Gave the Chief a present of a little lead and powder, a box

au bord de l'Eau suiuy de tout son monde, et on m'apporta quantité de pesches seiches, de Piachimina et de Citroüilles. Je Fis present au Chef d'un peu de plomb et de poudre et d'une boëtte de vermillon pour barbouiller sa jeunesse, et de quelqu'autre bagatelle quil agrea fort en luy disant que je le remerciois du bien qu'il auoit Fait au Pere de Limoges. Apres que je fus embarqué, Ils nous tirerent quelques coups de Fusils, ausquels les gens qui êtoient auec moy respondirent. A 2. Lieuës du Village il y a une petite Riuiere sur laquelle Ils uont en Canot le printemps par derriere les Coteaux, Jusqu'a la porte de leurs Cabannes. Puisque J'ay fait mention cy dessus du Calumet, vous serez bien aise que je vous en dise icy quelque chose. Jl n'est rien parmi les Indiens ni de plus mysterieux, ni de plus recõmandable. on ne rend pas tant d'honneur aux couronnes et aux sceptres des Roys, qu'ils luy en rendent. Jl semble quil est le Dieu de la Paix et de la guerre, l'arbitre de la vie et de la mort. C'est assez de le porter et le faire voir pour marcher en assurance au milieu des Ennemis qui dans le fort du Combat mettent bas les armes quand on le montre. Ce fut pour cela que les Illinois en donnerent un au feu Pere Marquette comme une sauuegarde parmi les nations du Mississipi par lesquels il devoit passer dans son voyage allant a la decouuerte de ce fleuve et des peuples qui L'habitent.

Il y a un Calumet pour la Paix, et un pour la guerre, qui ne sont distingues que par la Couleur des plumages dont ils sont ornés. Le Rouge est marque de guerre, ils s'enseruent encor pour terminer leurs differens, pour affermir leurs alliances,

of vermilion wherewith to daub his young men, and some other trifles, which greatly pleased him; and I told him that I thanked him for the kindness that he had Shown to Father de Limoges. After I had embarked, They fired four Gunshots, to which the people who were with me replied. At 2 Leagues from the Village, there is a small River by which They go in Canoes in the springtime, behind the Hills, To the doors of their Cabins. Since I have spoken above of the Calumet, you will be pleased if I here tell you something about it. There is nothing among these Indians that is more mysterious or more reverenced. No such honors are paid to the crowns and scepters of Kings as those that they pay to it. It seems to be the God of Peace and of war, the arbiter of life and of death. It suffices for one to carry and to show it, to walk in safety in the midst of Enemies, who in the hottest of the Fight lay down their weapons when it is displayed. That is why the Illinois gave one to the late Father Marquette, as a safeguard among the tribes of the Mississipi through whom he must pass on his voyage, when he went to discover that river and the nations that dwell along It.

There is one Calumet for Peace and one for war, and they are distinguished solely by the Color of the feathers that adorn them. Red is the sign of war. They use it also to terminate their quarrels, to strengthen their alliances and to speak to Strangers. It is a sort of Pipe for smoking Tobacco, made from a red stone polished like marble, and bored out in such manner that one end serves for holding the tobacco, while the other fits upon the stem. The latter consists of a hollow stick two feet long, as

et pour parler aux Etrangers. C'est une espece de Pippe a fumer du Tabac composée d'une pierre rouge polie comme du marbre, et percée en sorte qu'un bout sert à receuoir le tabac, et l'autre s'enclave dans le manche. c'est un bâton creux, de deux pieds de long gros comme une canne ordinaire c'est pour cela que les françois l'ont appellé calumet par corruption du mot Chalumeau parcequ'il lui ressemble, ou bien a une longue flûte. Jl est embelli de la teste ou du Col de diuers oiseaux dont le plumage est tres beau. Ils y joignent aussi de grandes plumes rouges, ou vertes, et dautres couleurs dont il est tout Empannaché, Ils en font état particulierement parcequ'ils le regardent comme le Calumet ou la Pippe du soleil. Et defait ils le lui presentent pour fumer quand ils veulent du Calme, de la pluye, ou du beau temps. Ils font scrupule de se baigner au cõmencemt. des Chaleurs, ou de manger des fruits nouveaux qu'apres auoir dansé le calumet, c'est a dire le Chef le tenant en main chantant des airs auxquels les autres repondent en dansant et fesant des gestes compassés au son de certains Jnstruments facon de petits Tambours.

Le 1er. de Nouembre la pluspart des François s'approcherent des Sacrements, et apres auoir celebré la Feste le mieux que nous pûmes, nous continuames nre route et nous decouurimes la Riuiere des Akansea a 8 lieuës du Village des Kappa. Les Sittèoüi Akansea sont a 5 lieuës plus haut que Son Embouchure et sont beaucoup plus nombreux que les Kappa, et les Tourima, ce Sont les 3 villages des Akansea. Cette Riuiere qui est au Nord du Mississipi, est tres belle, elle se separe en 3 branches a une Lieuë du

large as an ordinary cane. Hence the french have called it "calumet," from a corruption of the word Chalumeau, because it resembles that instrument — or, rather, a long flute. It is ornamented with the heads or Necks of various birds, whose plumage is very handsome. They also add long feathers of red, green, or other colors with which it is entirely Covered. They esteem it chiefly because they look upon it as the Calumet or Pipe of the sun; and, in fact, they offer it to the sun to smoke when they wish to obtain a Calm, or rain, or fine weather. They scruple to bathe at the beginning of the Hot weather, or to eat new fruit, before they have danced the calumet — that means that the Chief, holding it in his hands, sings airs to which the others respond, while dancing and making measured gestures to the sound of certain Instruments shaped like small Drums.[22]

On the 1st of November, nearly all the French received the Sacraments, and, after celebrating the Feast to the best of our ability, we continued our voyage and discovered the River of the Akansea, 8 leagues from the Village of the Kappa. The Sittèoui Akansea are 5 leagues above Its Mouth, and are much more numerous than the Kappa and the Tourima; these Are the 3 villages of the Akansea. That River, which is to the North of the Mississipi, is very fine; it divides into 3 branches at a League from the Village of the Ousitteoui; it runs to the Northwest, and, by ascending it, one reaches the River of the Missouris, by making a portage. They count 60 Leagues from the Kappa to the River of the Toumika; And on the 3rd day we passed the pointe coupée, which Is half way. We afterward

Village des Ousitteoüi, elle court au Nor oüest, et en la montant on se va rendre dans la Riuiere des Missouris en faisant un portage. L'on compte 60. Lieuës des Kappa a la Riuiere des Toumika, Et le 3e jour nous auons passé la pointe coupée, qui Fait la moitié du chemin. nous auons êté ensuitte a l'ancre durant 6 jours de pluye, et nous n'auons pas fait grand Chemin le 7e. Il s'est eleué une furieuse brume, et la pluye nous a obligés de Cabanner sur un coteau de plus de 40 ou 50 pieds de haut et sur les 7 heures du Soir nous auons êté Surpris d'un furieux coup de vent; Jl a duré plus d'une heure, et a donné bien de l'exercice a tout le monde pour conseruer les Canots et le bagage, et nous a menacés a tout moments d'etre ecrasés par des arbres qui tomboient autour de nous; a la chute du vent la pluye a êté si violente durant deux jours que je n'ay rien veu de pareil a linea; nos gens ont tué un Crocodile de trois brasses de long, C'est un animal de couleur de Crapaut fait comme un Lezar, on en trouue Souuent à terre, et quoy qu'il marche fort lentement, on ne s'en approche guere qu'on ne soit bien armé, L'écaille dont il est couuert est a l'épreuue du menu plomb, et il faut une balle pour le percer, je ne scay comment font les sauuages qui n'ont que des fleches, si ce n'est quelles se glissent sous Les écailles a reuers sa gueule est fort grande et armée de deux rangées de dents plus longues que celles d'un Ours; à le voir et à loüir craquer des dents il fait peur. On dit que la langue est un bon manger, mais je n'ay pas eu encore la curiosité d'en gouter ny de tout le reste du corps dont la pluspart des Sauuages font un grand regal, Il en coûte de

remained at anchor during a 6 days' rain, and did not proceed very Far. The 7th. A heavy fog came on, and the rain compelled us to Encamp on a hill more than 40 or 50 feet high. About 7 o'clock in the Evening, we were Surprised by a furious squall that lasted over an hour, and gave every one plenty of occupation in saving the Canoes and baggage; it threatened, at every moment, to crush us by the trees that fell all around us. When the wind fell, the rain was so heavy for two days that I have never seen anything like it. Our people killed a Crocodile, three brasses long. This is an animal of the color of a Toad, shaped like a Lizard. It is Often found on land, and, although it walks very slowly, no one approaches it unless he is well armed. The scales with which it is covered are proof against small shot, and a ball is needed to pierce them. I know not how the savages do so who have only arrows, unless it be that these slip under The scales from the rear. Its mouth is very large, and is armed with two rows of teeth, longer than those of a Bear. To see it, and hear it gnash its teeth, frightens one. It is said that the tongue is good to eat, but I have never had the curiosity to taste any of it, or any other part of the body, which most of the Savages consider a great treat. From time to time, some of them lose their lives by risking themselves in diving to catch it after it is wounded. Many of these animals are larger than this one was.

On the 13th day, after the mass of the blessed Stanislas, we set out; and on the following day we reached the river of the Tounika. I left the 5 Canoes containing the frenchmen at the mouth, which is on the South side of the Mississipi. I embarked in my

temps en temps la vie a quelques uns de ceux qui se hazardent a plonger pour le prendre apres quils lont blessé il s'en voit de beaucoup plus grands que celuy cy.

Le 13e. jour apres la messe du bien heureux Stanislas nous sommes partis, et le landemain nous sommes arriuez a la riuiere des Tounika. J'ay laissé les 5 Canots des francois a l'embouchure, elle est au Sud du Mississipi, Je me suis embarqué dans mon Canot pour aller visiter Mr. Dauion prêtre missionnaire qui êtoit malade, J'ay quitté mon Canot a 4 lieues de la Riuiere aux pieds d'un Costeau ou il y a 5 ou 6. Cabannes, le Chemin qui est de 2 lieuës par terre est assez beau, j'ay trouué des arbres de Piakimina chargez de fruit, et bien des arbres de Coupal qui rendoient de la gomme. Nous auons passé dans des Chemins de Cannes de 40. pieds de haut et grosses comme le bras: La tige des epis de bled que nous apellons bled d'inde est de plus de 15 a 20 pieds de haut aussi bien que les tournesols et gros a proportion; Nous auons veu 5 ou 6. hameaux de peu de Cabannes, et j'ay esté Surpris que des Sauuages qui voient si rarement des François fussent si peu curieux. Jl n'y a qu'au village de Mr. Davion, où tout le monde m'a escorté jusques dans la maison de ce fervent missionnaire, que J'ay trouué au lict auec la fieure, Il s'est leué le lendemain pour communier a ma messe, et a fait sa premiere sortie pour visiter auec moy quelques Cabannes, il m'a entretenu auec beaucoup de franchise de Sa mission qu'il commence a establir, et Dieu benit son Zele et l'etude qu'il fait de la langue quil commence a parler mieux qu'on ne pourroit naturellement attendre d'une personne de

Canoe to visit Monsieur Davion, a missionary priest, who was sick. I left my Canoe 4 leagues from the River, at the foot of a Hill where there are 5 or 6 Cabins. The Road by land, which is 2 leagues long, is fairly good. I found Piakimina-trees loaded with fruit, and many Coupal-trees that yielded gum. We passed on our Route through Canes that were 40 feet high, and as thick as one's arm. The stalks of the corn that we call indian corn are more than 15 or 20 feet high, as are also the sunflowers, and thick in proportion. We saw 5 or 6 hamlets, consisting of but few Cabins; and I was Astonished that Savages who so seldom see Frenchmen should manifest so little curiosity — except at Monsieur Davion's village, where all the people escorted me to the house of that devoted missionary, whom I found ill in bed with fever. He arose on the following day, to receive communion at my mass, and went out, for the first time, to visit some Cabins with me. He spoke to me with much frankness about His mission, which he is beginning to establish; and God blesses his Zeal and the study that he has made of the language, which he is beginning to speak better than might usually be expected from a person of His age. In his mission, 3 different languages are spoken: the Ïakou, with 30 Cabins; the Ounspik, with 10 or 12 Cabins; and the Toumika, who are in 7 hamlets, consisting in all of 50 or 60 small Cabins. He devotes himself entirely to the last-named language; and, as the Toumika are the most numerous, the Mission bears their name.[23] They are very docile; polygamy is rare among them; but their caprice and the custom of the country authorize divorce for almost nothing,—the result being that

Son âge. Jl y a 3 langues differentes dans sa mission les Ïakou de 30 Cabannes, les Ounspik de 10 ou 12 Cabannes, et les Toumika, qui sont en 7 hameaux, et qui font en tout 50 ou 60 petites Cabannes, Il ne s'attache qu'a cette derniere langue, et les Toumika comme les plus nombreux donnent le nom a la Mission, Ils sont fort dociles, la poligamie est rare parmy eux, mais leur caprice et la coutume du pays authorise la repudiation presque pour rien, ce qui est cause que le village n'est gueres peuplé. Et je n'y ay presque pas veu d'enfans, Les filles ne sont pas libertines ny effrontées comme elles le sont aux Natchiés et aux Taensa, Ils reconnoissent neuf Dieux, le soleil, le Tonnerre, le feu, le Dieu de l'orient, du Midi, du Nord, du Couchant, du Ciel et de la Terre: Dans chaque Cabanne Il y a un grand poteau qui la soutient, au pied duquel il y a 2 ou 3. petits pots de terre proche du feu dont ils tirent un peu de cendre pour mettre dans ces pots, par Je ne Sçay quelle superstition; C'est le poteau de lesprit ou genie; Ils sont si secrets sur tous les mysteres de leur Religion, que le Missionnaire n'en peut rien découurir. les femmes ont un habit de toile de meurier quelles fillent comme de la chanvre et du lin; c'est une toile forte et epaisse. leur Juppon est fort propre depuis la ceinture jusqu'au dessous des genoux il y a une frange tres bien travaillée aussi bien que leur manteau ou tout uni ou ouuragé en lozanges, ou en quarreaux, ou en hermine qu'elles portent pour l'ordinaire en blandrier, et rarement sur les 2. epaules. Les hommes et les femmes ne se graissent ni ne s'huilent pas les Cheueux comme tous nos sauuages du Canada, mais peut estre est ce faute de l'une et de

the village is but little populated, and I saw hardly any children there. The girls are not lewd or bold, as among the Natchiés and Taensa. They acknowledge nine Gods: the sun, Thunder, fire, the Gods of the east, of the South, of the North, and of the West, of the Sky, and of the Earth. In every Cabin is a tall Post that holds it up; at the foot of this are 2 or 3 small earthen pots near the fire, from which they take a little ashes to place in those pots, through I Know not what superstition. That is the post of the spirit or genie. They are so secret regarding all the mysteries of their Religion that the Missionary can discover nothing about them. The women wear a gown made of a tissue from the mulberry-tree, which they spin like hemp and flax. It is a strong and thick cloth. Their Skirt is very decent, extending from the waist to below the knees; it has a fringe that is very neatly worked,—as is also their mantle, which is either quite plain, or worked in lozenges, or in squares, or in ermine; they usually wear it over one shoulder, and seldom over both. The men and women do not grease or oil their Hair, as do our savages of Canada, but perhaps both are mistaken. The meat of bears, of Deer, and of all kinds of animals is very scarce in their villages. The women wear their Hair in a heavy plait on their backs, reaching to below the waist; they also make a crown of it around Their heads, which are flat, like those of the men. The mothers are careful to compress the heads of their children, while in the cradle, to make them flat. Most of the men wear their hair long, and their only covering is a scanty Deerskin. They, as well as the women, sometimes wear cloaks made of Turkey feathers or of Muskrat skins, well woven

l'autre. La viande d'ours et de Chevreüil y étant fort rare dans leurs villages; aussi bien que de toute autre beste. Les femmes ont une grande tresse de Cheveux sur le dos qui leur pend jusqu'au dessous de la ceinture, elles s'en font aussi une couronne autour de La teste; elles l'ont platte aussi bien que les hommes, C'est dez le berceau que les meres ont le soin de mettre en presse la teste de leurs enfans pour la rendre platte. La pluspart des hommes ont les cheveux longs, et n'ont pour tout habit qu'une mechante peau de Cheureüil, Ils ont aussi quelquefois aussi bien que les femmes des manteaux de plumes de poules d'Inde ou de peaux de Rats musquez bien tissus et bien travaillez. les hommes font icy ce que les paysans Font en france Ils cultiuent et bechent la terre, font les semences, et la recolte, font le bois, et l'apportent a la cabanne, passent les peaux de Cheureüil et de beuf quand ils en ont, et les apprestent les mieux de tous les Sauvages que j'aye veus; Les femmes ne font que le dedans du ménage, les pots de terre, et leurs habits. Leurs Cabanes sont rondes et en voute: elles sont lattées de Cannes et reuétües de Bousillage depuis le bas jusques au haut, au dedans et au dehors avec une bonne couverture de paille, Il n'y a pas de jour que par la porte, et si peu qu'il y ait de feu, dont la Fumée ne Sort que par la porte, Il y fait chaud comme dans une étuve. La Nuit une torche de Cannes séches allumée leur sert de Flambeau, et tient toute la Cabanne chaude, leur lit est de Cannes rondes, elevé sur 4 poteaux de 3 pieds de haut, et une natte de Cannes leur sert de Mattelas. rien de plus propre que leurs Cabannes, on ny voit ny hardes, ny sacs, ny

and well worked. The men here Do what peasants do in france: they till and hoe the soil; they sow and harvest; they cut wood, and bring it to the cabin; they dress the skins of Deer and of oxen, when they have any. They dress them better than do any other Savages whom I have seen. The women do only household work, and make the earthen vessels and their clothes. Their Cabins are round and arched; they are lathed with Canes, and plastered with Mud from the bottom to the top, both inside and out, and have a good roof of straw. There is no opening but the door; and however little fire there may be,—the Smoke therefrom Issues only by the door,—It is as hot in them as in a vapor bath. At Night, a lighted torch made of dried Canes serves them as a Light, and keeps all the Cabin warm. Their beds are made of round Canes raised on 4 posts 3 feet high; and a Reed mat serves as a Mattress. Nothing can be cleaner than their Cabins. One never sees in them either clothes, or bags, or Kettles, or hatchets, or guns; They carry everything with them, and their sole wealth consists of fairly well-made earthen vessels — especially small varnished jars, as pretty as any that can be seen in france.[24] Their granaries are near their Cabins; they are made like Dove-cotes, built on four large posts 15 or 16 feet high. These are very smooth and well polished, so that the mice may not climb them; and thus they protect Their corn and Squashes — which are even better than those of the Ilinois — against those vermin. There are no peaches in this village, as among the Akansea; but there are such quantities of piakimina that whole families go together to the woods to gather it, As

Chaudieres, ny haches, ny fusils, Ils portent tout avec eux, et n'ont pour toutes richesses que des pots de terre assez bien faits; sur tout de petites cruches vernies aussi propres qu'on en puisse voir en france, leurs greniers sont proche de leurs Cabannes faits en Colombier bâti sur quatre gros poteaux de 15 ou 16 pieds de haut bien unis et bien lisses, affin que les souris n'y puissent pas grimper; et c'est ainsi qu'ils en garentissent Leurs bleds et leurs Citroüilles qui sont encore meilleures que celles des Ilinois. Il n'y a pas dans ce village là des pesches cõme aux Akansea: mais il y a une si grande quantité de piakimina, qu'ils vont dans les bois en familles en faire la recolte, Comme les Ilinois vont en familles a la Chasse du beuf sauvage qui est tres rare en ce pays cy ou ils vivent de ce fruit dans le bois durant un mois, outre qu'ils enpilent et font seicher une grande quantité quils conseruent Longtemps, Jls n'ont qu'un petit temple eleué sur une butte de terre, Ils n'y entrent ma dit M^r^. Davion que quand ils vont a la guerre, ou qu'ils en reviennent, et ne font point tous les hurlemens des Taensa et des Natchés quand ils passent deuant leurs temples, ou il y a toujours un vieillard qui y entretient du feu. M^r^. de S^t^. Cosme ayant apris que M^r^. Davion etoit a l'extremité, est arrivé a la mission de Natchés, avant mon depart ils m'ont confirmé l'un et l'autre le Naufrage du Pere de Limoges qui de tout ce qu'il auoit n'a sauué que son Calice et son Crucifix; Jls luy ont donné tout ce quil luy falloit pour aller jusqu'au fort de Mississipi tres edifiez de la joye et de la fermeté qu'il leur a fait paroitre dans la perte assez considerable qu'il a faite de tous ses meubles de Mission, benissant Dieu

among the Ilinois whole families go together to Hunt the wild ox, which is seldom seen in this country. There they live for a month in the woods on that fruit, besides pounding and drying great quantities of it, which they keep for a Long time. They have only a small temple erected on a mound of earth; they enter it, so Monsieur Davion told me, only when going to war or returning thence; and do not utter all the yells of the Taensa and Natchés when they pass in front of their temple, in which an old man always keeps fire burning. Monsieur de St. Cosme, who had heard that Monsieur Davion was dying, arrived from the Natchés mission. Before my departure, they both confirmed the news of the Wreck of Father de Limoges — who, out of all that he possessed, saved only his Chalice and his Crucifix. They gave him all that he needed to enable him to reach fort Mississipi, and were greatly edified by the joy and fortitude that he manifested in the great loss that he had suffered of all the outfit of his Mission,— praising God, They told me, for having thus deprived him of all he possessed. Monsieur de St. Cosme informed me that the Natchés were far from being as docile as the Tounika. They are polygamous, thievish, and Very depraved — the girls and women being even more so than the men and boys, among whom a great reformation must be effected before anything can be expected from them. The customs of the Taensas, who speak the same language, are the same. Their village is 20 leagues from the River of the Toumika; It is 4 leagues inland. After Traveling a league, one reaches a lake where there are always a great many Crocodiles. It must be crossed in a Canoe to reach the village,

m'ont Ils dit, de ce qu'il l'avoit ainsy detaché de tout ce qu'il auoit; Il s'en faut beaucoup au reste m a dit M^r^. de S^t^. Cosme, que les Natchés soient aussi dociles que les Tounika, Ils sont poligames, voleurs, et Fort vicieux, les filles et les femmes plus que les hommes, et les garçons parmy lesquels Il y a bien a reformer auant que d'en esperer quelque chose; les Taensas, qui ont la même langue, ont aussi les memes mœurs, leur village est a 20. lieuës de la Riuiere des Toumika, Il est a 4 lieuës dans les terres, apres une lieuë de Chemin l'on tombe Sur un lac, ou il y a toujours quantité de Crocodiles, Il le faut trauerser en Canot pour aller au village qui est plus ramassé que celuy des Tounika. L'année passée le temple ayant êté reduit en cendres par le tonnerre, qui tomba sur une matiere aussi combustibles que le sont les Cannes dont il etoit couuert, Le vieillard qui en etoit le Gardien, dit que l'esprit etoit faché qu'on n'eut fait mourir personne a la mort du dernier Chef, et qu'il falloit l'appaiser; 5 femmes eurent la Cruauté de jetter leurs Enfans dans le feu a la veuë des françois qui me l'ont raconté au plûtost les donnerent au Vieillard qui les jetta dans le feu en faisant ses Invocations, et en chantant auec ces femmes durant cette cruelle ceremonie, et Sans les François il y eut encore eu bien des Enfans bruslés. la Cabane du Chef ayant ete conuertie en temple on y porta en triomphe les 5 meres denaturées comme 5 heroïnes. A la pointe du detour ou est le village, la Riuiere n'a gueres qu'un arpent et demi de large, et fait un detroit, ou l'on a bien de la peine a refouler le courant, et c'est la ou M^r^. de la salle dit qu'il y a un gouffre ou les arbres se precipitent la racine en haut

which is more closely built than that of the Tounika.[25] Last year the temple was reduced to ashes, by the lightning falling on such combustible materials as the Canes with which it was covered. The old man who was its Guardian said that the spirit was angry, because no one had been killed in it at the death of the last Chief, and that he must be appeased. There were 5 women Cruel enough to throw their Children into the fire, in full view of the french who related this to me, — or, rather, they gave them to the Old man, who cast them into the fire. He did so while uttering Invocations, and singing with the women during the barbarous ceremony; and, had it not been for the French, many more Children would have been burned. The Chief's Cabin was turned into a temple, and the 5 unnatural mothers were carried there in triumph, as if they were 5 heroines. At the point of the bend where the village stands, the River is barely an arpent and a half in width, and forms a strait, where the current is difficult to ascend. It is at that place that Monsieur de la salle says there is a whirlpool, into which the trees are precipitated roots upward, and reappear only half a league lower down. This I did not see; perhaps it happened only when he passed there, or occurs only occasionally.

After enduring heavy showers during the night, which would have deluged our baggage had I slept as soundly as did our Canoemen, we had very fine weather while proceeding to the Natchés, who are South of the Taensas, from whom they are distant 20 leagues. After ascending a low hill, we came upon a well-traveled highway leading to a rather steep hill, which is more than half covered during

et ne vont sortir qu'a plus d'une demie lieuë plus bas, ce que je nai pas appercu, peut estre que cela n'arriva que lorsquil y passa, on ne s'y voit que de temps en temps.

Apres auoir essuyé de grandes pluyes, qui durant la nuit auroient inondé tout n^re^ bagage, si J'eusse dormy aussi profondement que nos Canoteurs, nous auons assez beau temps pour arriuer aux Natchés au Sud des Taensas, dont ils sont eloignez de 20 lieuës, Apres auoir monté une petite coste on trouue un grand chemin battu qui conduit a un grand coteau assez escarpé, les grandes Eaux en couurent plus de la moitié. au haut de ce coteau, on decouure une belle prairie, le Chemin le plus battu conduit au Village ou est le temple; les autres qui coupent a droit et a gauche, vont a differens hameaux. Il ny a que 4 cabanes dans celuy ou est le temple, il est fort Spacieux et couuert de cannes nattées quils renouvellent tous les ans auec de grandes ceremonies, qu'il seroit trop long de marquer icy. Elles commencent par un jeûne de quatre jours auec des vomitoires jusqu'au Sang, Il n'y a ny fenestre, ni Cheminée dans ce temple, et ce n'est qu'a la lueur du feu qu'on y voit un peu, encore faut-il que la porte, qui est fort basse et Fort étroite soit ouuerte. Je m'imagine que l'obscurité du lieu leur inspire du respect. Le vieillard qui en est le gardien, y entretient tousjours le feu, et se donne bien de garde de le laisser éteindre. Il est au milieu du temple deuant un espece de Mauzolée à la maniere des Sauuages, Jl y en a 3. de 8. ou 9 pieds de long, d'enuiron 6 pieds de large, et de 9 ou 10 pieds de haut, Ils sont soutenus sur 4. gros poteaux reuestus de nattes de

the high Waters. At the top of this hill is a fine prairie; the Road most used leads to the Village where the temple is; others, which intersect it right and left, lead to various hamlets. There are only 4 cabins in the one where the temple is; it is very Spacious and covered with plaited canes, which are renewed every year with great ceremonies, which it would take too long to relate here. They begin by a fast that lasts four days, accompanied by vomiting until Blood comes. There are neither windows nor Chimney in the temple and one can see only a little by the light of the fire; and even then the door, which is very low and Very narrow, must be open. I imagine that the obscurity of the place inspires them with respect. The old man who is the guardian keeps the fire lighted all the time, and takes very good care not to let it go out. It is in the middle of the temple, in front of a sort of Mausoleum in the Savage fashion. There are 3, which are 8 or 9 feet long, about 6 feet wide, and 9 or 10 feet high. They are supported by 4 large posts, covered with Cane mats in quite neat Columns, And surmounted by a ceiling of Canes interlaced. This would be very graceful, were it not all darkened by smoke and covered with Soot. There is a large Mat that Serves as a curtain to hide a large table, covered with 5 or 6 Cane Mats, on which stands a great Basket; it is not permitted to open this, because the Spirit of Each nation in this quarter reposes, it is said, with that of the Natchez. I am annoyed with myself for not having opened the Basket, although I would have pained the Old man by drawing back the curtain and trying to touch that Basket. There are others in the 2 other mausoleums, in which, they say, are the bones

Cannes en Colomnes assez propres, Et surmontez d'un platfond de Cannes nattées, cela auroit assez bonne grace, si tout n'etoit pas noircy de fumée et couuert de Suye. Il y a une grande Natte qui Sert de rideau pour couurir une grande table couuerte de 5 ou 6 Nattes de Cannes sur lesquelles il y a une grande Corbeille qu'il n'est pas permis d'ouurir parceque l'Esprit de Chaque nation de ces quartiers repose dit on auec celuy des Natchez. Je me sçay mauuais gré de n'auoir pas ouuert la Corbeille, quoy que j'eusse fait de la peine au Vieillard d'ouurir le rideau et de vouloir toucher a cette Corbeille. Il y en a d'autres dans les 2 autres mauzolées, ou ils disent que sont les ossements de leurs Chefs quils reuerent comme des diuinitez. Tout ce que je vis de plus rare, Cest un petit morceau de Cristal de roche que j'ay trouué dans une petite Corbeille. J'ay veu quantité de petits pots, plats, tasses de Terre et de petits paniers de Cannes bien faits C'est pour seruir a manger aux esprits des Chefs morts, et le gardien du temple y trouue son Compte. apres auoir visité tout ce qui est dans le temple, je n'ay vû ni la, ni ailleurs, ni l'or, ni l'argent, ni Les pierreries, ni les Richesses ny les neuf brasses de perles fines qu'on fait remarquer a l'autheur d'une relation imprimée sous le nom de M^r^. de Tonty et quil a de[s]avouée a *celui* [M^r^. Iberuille], qui luy reprochoit toutes les menteries dont elle est remplie; cest aussi une fable que ce que L'ecrivain ose dire auoir esté vû par M^r^. de Tonty dans une petite armoire enchassée dans la muraille reuestue de bousillage, ou je n'ay vû ny goutté aucune des liqueurs exquises dont il parle. ce sont toutes Choses controuuées par le même autheur pour

of their Chiefs, whom they revere as divinities. The rarest object that I saw there is a small piece of rock Crystal, which I found in a small Basket. I observed many small Earthen pots, dishes, and cups, and some small well-made Cane baskets. In these food is served to the spirits of the dead Chiefs, and the guardian of the temple finds it to his Advantage. After inspecting everything in the temple, I saw, either there or elsewhere, neither the gold, nor the silver, nor The precious stones, nor the Riches, nor the nine brasses of fine pearls mentioned by the author of a relation, printed under the name of Monsieur de Tonty, but which he disavowed to *him* [Monsieur Iberville] who reproached him with all the falsehoods with which it is filled.[26] What The writer dares to mention as having been seen by Monsieur de Tonty, in a small cupboard imbedded in the wall and plastered with mud, is also a fable; and I neither saw nor tasted there the exquisite liquors of which he speaks. These are all Things that have been invented by the same author, in order to embellish his story. It is true that the Chief's wife has some small pearls; but they are neither round nor well pierced,—with the exception of 7 or 8, which are as large as small peas, and have been bought for more than they are worth. After a careful search, there were found none of the riches or rarities that have been reported to exist in the Temple and in the village. The frenchman whom Monsieur D'Iberville left there to learn the language told me that, at the death of the last Chief, they had killed two women, 3 men, and 3 Children; They strangled them with a Bowstring; and that cruel ceremony is performed with great pomp, for the wretched victims Consider themselves

embellir son histoire. Il est vray que la femme du Chef, a quelques petites perles, qui ne sont ny rondes, ni bien percées: mais 7 ou 8 prés qui sont grosses comme de petits poix qu'on a achetées plus cheres quelles ne vallent; apres les auoir bien cherchées, Il ny a rien des richesses ni des raretéz qu'on a voulu faire croire se trouuer dans le Temple et dans le village. Le françois que Mr. D'Iberuille y a laissé pour apprendre la langue m'a dit qu'a la mort du dernier Chef on a fait mourir deux femmes, 3 hommes et 3 Enfans; Ils les etranglerent auec la Corde d'un arc, et cette cruelle ceremonie se fait auec grand appareil; ces malheureuses victimes, se Croyans fort honorées d'accompagner leur Chef par une morte violente; pour le grand Chef qui mourut quelques mois auparauant, Il ny en eu[t] que 7, Sa femme mieux auisée que les autres ne voulut pas le Suiure, et se mit a pleurer quand on voulut l'obliger d'accompagner son Mary. Mr. de Montigni qui a quitté ce païs pour aller a Siam estant auerty de ce qu'ils auoient coutume de faire leur fit promettre de ne faire mourir personne, ils luy donnerent pour garantie de leur parole une petite esclaue qu'ils auoient resolu de faire mourir, sans la defense qu'il leur en fit: mais pour garder leur maudite coutume sans qu'il s'en appercût la femme Chef qu'ils appellent Oüachil Tamail, Soleil femme (qui est toujours la sœur, et non la femme du grand Chef) luy persuada de Se retirer dans un Village esloigné pour n'auoir pas la teste rompue du bruit qu'on feroit dans une Ceremonie ou tout le monde se deuoit trouuer, Mr. de Montigni ne se doutant de rien la Crut et se retira, mais en son absence Ils firent mourir ceux quils

highly honored in accompanying their Chief by means of a violent death. For the great Chief who died some months previously, There were but 7. His wife, who was more cautious than the others, would not Follow him; and began to weep when they wished to make her accompany her Husband. When Monsieur de Montigni, who has left this country to go to Siam, was informed of their custom, he made them promise to put no more people to death. They gave him, as a pledge of their word, a little slave girl, whom they had resolved to kill, had he not forbidden it. But, in order to keep their cursed custom without his noticing it, the woman Chief, whom they call *Ouachil Tamail*, "the Sun woman" (who is always the sister and not the wife of the great Chief), persuaded him to withdraw to a distant Village so that his head might not be broken by the noise that would be made at a Ceremony whereat all the people would be present. Monsieur de Montigni, who suspected nothing, Believed her and withdrew; but, in his absence, They put to death those whom they considered necessary to act as Cooks for the Chief, and to Serve him in The other world. However, the Old men alone enter the temple to yell, as I have seen them do after kindling the fire. All the men who pass in front of the temple lay down their Burdens, stretch their arms toward the temple, and utter loud yells; and, if they have little Children, They hold them in their arms and, turning toward the temple They make them touch the earth 3 times with their foreheads. They utter the same yells when they pass before the Chief or the woman Chief, or speak to them, or offer them food, drink, or tobacco. This woman Chief is very intelligent, and

crurent necessaires pour aller faire la Cuisine du Chef et pour le Seruir en L'autre monde; au reste Il n'y a que les Vieillards qui entrent dans le temple pour faire leurs hurlemens tels que je les ay vû faire, apres auoir attisé le feu. Tous les hommes qui passent devant le temple mettent bas leur Charge, et êtendent les bras du costé du temple auec de grands hurlem^{ts}., et s'ils ont de petits Enfans, Ils les prennent entre leurs bras et se tournant du côté du temple, Ils leur font toucher 3 fois la terre auec le front, Ils font les mêmes hurlemens quand ils passent devant le Chef, ou la femme Chef, ou quils leur parlent, ou qu'ils leur presentent a boire ou à manger ou à fumer, Cette femme Chef a beaucoup d'esprit, et a plus de Credit quon ne pense; son frere n'est pas un grand genie, il s'est remarié 9 fois sans qu'aucune Femme ayt pu rester auec luy, elles l'ont toutes quitté et a p^{nt} il vit seul a son particulier. Les Femmes sont toutes vetues fort proprement et bien couuertes. Jusqu'a mi Jambe, auec un manteau qui descend jusqu'au dessous du genoüil, la pluspart ont les dents noires, et c'est une beauté parmi elles; C'est en machant du Charbon de tabac, auec de la cendre, dont elles les frottent tous les matins qu'elles les noircissent. Le bled n'etoit pas encore cueilly la 1ere. recolte se fait en ces quartiers dans le mois de Juin, et la 2de. qui est la plus abondante, ne se fait qu'a la fin de Novemb. outre qu'ils offrent au temple les premices de leurs fruits dans ce Village la, la femme Chef faisoit faire la recolte du bled pour le temple, et personne n'ose refuser ce que ses émissaires veulent prendre C'est pour le Chef, et pour la femme Chef et pour donner a manger aux esprits

enjoys greater Influence than one thinks. Her brother is not a great genius; he has been married 9 times, without a single Woman being able to live with him; they have all left him, and now he lives quite alone. The Women are all very neatly clad, and are decently covered To the middle of their Legs, with a cloak that descends below the knees. Most of them have black teeth, which is considered beautiful among them; they blacken them by chewing the Ashes of tobacco mixed with wood ashes, and rubbing them with these every morning. The corn was not yet gathered in. The 1st harvest in this quarter is in the month of June; and the 2nd, which is more abundant, is only at the end of November. Besides the fact that they offer the first-fruits of their crop to the temple in that Village, the woman Chief had the corn gathered in for the temple, and no one dares to refuse what her emissaries wish to take. That harvest is gathered for the Chief and the woman Chief, and to supply food for the spirits of the departed Chiefs; but all the people take part in the feast that is given them during 6 days. This is accompanied with the usual yells, the Shouts, and the Ceremonies that they will not explain to the Missionaries, to whom, for all answer, They say, *noukou* — which means, " I Know not why it is done." Everything depends upon the Commission of the Chiefs, who have too much Interest in passing among their people for Spirits to embrace Christian humility very soon.

We left that village of the Natchez on the 24th and the 25th of November. We discovered the Hills of the houmas to the South of the Mississipi, which forms a bay that one enters by leaving the main

des Chefs morts que se fait cette recolte, mais tout le monde est du festin qu'on leur fait durant 6 jours auec les hurlem^{ts}. les Cris et les Ceremonies ord^{res}. quils ne veulent pas expliquer au Miss^{re}. a qui pour toute reponse, Ils disent noukou c'est a dire je ne Scay pas pourquoy cela se fait. tout depend de la Commission des Chefs qui ont trop d'Interest de passer pour des Esprits parmy leurs gens pour embrasser si tost l'humilité Chretieñe

Nous sommes partis de ce village des Natchez le 24e. et le 25e. Novembre. Nous auons decouuert les Cotteaux des houmas au Sud de Mississipi, qui fait une baye, ou l'on entre, laissant sur la droite, le grand Canal, Il y a une bonne lieuë et demie du debarquement au Village des houmas, par un assez mauuais Chemin a toujours monter et descendre et a marcher a demi courbé dans les Cannes. Le village est sur la creste d'une montagne roide et escarpée de tous costez. Il y a 80 Cabannes, et au milieu du Village une belle place fort unie, ou depuis le matin jusqu'au soir il y a de jeunes gens qui s'exercent a courir apres une pierre platte qu'ils jettent en l'air d'un bout de la place a l'autre, et quils taschent de Faire tomber Sur deux Cilindres, quils font rouler ou ils croyent que la pierre doit tomber.

Le temple n'a rien de beau que le Vestibule, qui est orné des plus agreables grotesques et des mieux faites qu'on puisse gueres voir. Ce Sont quatre Satyres dont deux sont en bosse sortans tous quatre de la muraille qui ont à la teste aux mains et aux pieds en bandeaux, en bracelets, en Jartieres en bandouliere et en ceintures des serpens, des souris et des Chiens, les couleurs en sont noires, blanches, rouges

Channel to the right. There is a good league and a half from the point of disembarkation to the Village of the houmas,—over a very bad Road, for one has to ascend and descend, and walk half bent, through the Canes. The village is on the crest of a steep mountain, precipitous on all sides. There are 80 Cabins in it, and in the middle of the Village is a fine and very level open space, where, from morning to night, young men exercise themselves. They run after a flat stone, which they throw in the air from one end of the square to the other, and try to Make it fall On two Cylinders, which they roll wherever they think the stone will fall.

There is nothing fine about the temple except the Vestibule, which is embellished with the most pleasing and best executed grotesque figures that one can see. These Are four Satyrs, two of which are in relief,—all four standing out from the wall, and having on their heads, their hands, and their legs,—for fillets, bracelets, Garters, baldrics, and belts,—snakes, mice, and Dogs. The colors are black, white, red, and Yellow; and are applied so well, and with such absence of confusion, that they constitute an agreeably surprising spectacle. The Old man who keeps up the fire—the name of which, he told us, was *Louak ouloughé*—the "sacred fire"—showed us the bones of the woman Chief who died last year. That woman had so distinguished herself by the blows that she inflicted upon their enemies, having in person led several war-parties, that she was looked upon as an Amazon, and as the mistress of the whole village. Greater honor was paid to her than to the great Chief; for she occupied the 1st place in all the Councils, and, when she walked about, was always

et Jaunes, et si bien appliquées et sans confusion, que c'est un spectacle qui surprend agreablement, Le Vieillard qui y entretient le feu quil nous nomma Loüak ouloüghé feu sacré, nous fit voir les ossements de la fameuse femme Chef qui mourut l'année passée. Cette femme s'étoit rendue si considerable par les coups qu'elle auoit fait sur les ennemis, ayant conduit elle même plusieurs partis de guerre, qu'on la regardoit cõme une Amazone et cõe la maitresse de tout le village, a qui on rendoit plus d'honneur qu'au grand Chef, tenant la 1ere. place dans tous les Conseils, et quand elle marchoit elle etoit toûjours precedée de quattre jeunes hommes qui luy chantoient et dansoient le Calumet, elle etoit habillée en Amazonne, se peignoit le visage et auoit le Cheuelure Faite cõme les hommes. On ne fait dans ce village rien de tous les hurlemts. ordinaires aux Natchés lors quils passent devant le temple, vis a vis duquel il y a une Chapelle de 50 pieds de long que le Pere du Ru y fit bâtir le printemps passé auec une grande Croix de 35 ou 40 pieds du haut quil a fait arborer dans la place du village; Le Pere de Limoges y etoit arriué depuis trois jours pour s'y etablir et pour trauailler a la Conuersion des houmas, qui me paroissent fort dociles. Le Grand Chef est fort raisonnable et dit qu'il ne reconnoist qu'un esprit qui a tout fait. J'ay compté 70 Cabannes dans le village que j'ay visité auec le Pere de Limoges qui ma voulu donner les premices de sa mission par le baptême que j'ay fait d'un Enfant de 3 jours a qui j'ay donné le nom de St. François Xauier Patron de la mission, a qui Dieu a ouuert le paradis peu de jours apres pour y trauailler a la Conuersion de ses parens et de ses Compatriottes

preceded by four young men, who sang and danced the Calumet to her. She was dressed as an Amazon; she painted her face and Wore her Hair like the men. In this village they know nothing of all the yells that are usually uttered among the Natchés when they pass before the temple — opposite which is a Chapel 50 feet long that Father du Ru caused to be built last spring; also a great Cross 35 or 40 feet high, that he caused to be erected in the public place of the village. Father de Limoges had arrived there three days before, in order to settle there and to labor for the Conversion of the houmas, who seemed to me to be very docile. The Great Chief is very reasonable, and says that he acknowledges but one spirit who has made all. I counted 70 Cabins in the village, which I visited with Father de Limoges, who chose to give me the first-fruits of his mission in the baptism that I administered to a Child 3 days old. I gave him the name of St. Francis Xavier, the Patron of the mission; God took him to paradise a few days afterward, there to labor for the Conversion of his parents and of his Countrymen.

On the 3rd of december, we celebrated the Festival of that great Saint as solemnly as we could; and I Chanted the first high mass that was ever heard in the village. I was Surprised at the little Curiosity that they manifested. If the Mississipi country be settled, and this mission be not taken from us, There is reason to hope that we shall do well here, on account of the docility of those poor people. The women and girls are more modest than Among the neighboring Tribes. May God be pleased to convert them, and make the road to Their village Impracticable for certain French libertines. All that they do

Le 3e. decembre nous auons celebré la Feste de ce grand Saint le plus solemnellement que nous auons pû, et J'ay Chanté la premiere grande messe qu'on ait entendu dans le village, J'ay esté Surpris de leur peu de Curiosité: Si le Mississipi s'etablit, et que cette mission ne nous soit pas otée, Il y a sujet d'esperer de la docilité de ces pauures gens, qu'on y fera du bien, les femmes et les filles y ont plus de pudeur que Chez les Nations voisines. Dieu veille les conuertir, et rendre le chemin de Leur village Impratiquable a certains François libertins. tout ce quils font a leurs malades, C'est de les succer Jusqu'au Sang, J'en ay veu un entre les mains des vieillards Jongleurs, dont l'un sifflo[i]t et joüoit de la gourde un autre le succoit, et l'autre chantoit la Chanson du Crocodile dont la peau luy seruoit de tambour. Comme ils se Contentent de leurs Citroüilles et de leur bled quils ont en abondance, Ils sont faineants et ne vont gueres a la Chasse, Ils ne laissent pas d'auoir la reputation d'estre gueriers et destre crains des nations voisines. Ils ne sont pas cruels, et bien loin de faire mourir aucun des esclaues quils font, dés quils entrent dans le village, les femmes pleurent sur Eux les plaignans d'auoir esté pris, et les traittent ensuite mieux que leurs enfans; quand quelques uns de leurs gens vont a la Chasse, les femmes se mettent a pleurer comme si elles les alloient perdre, Et quand ils reuiennent de la Chasse Elles pleurent de joye de les reuoir, Il y a peu de Villages en france ou il y ait plus de poules et de Cocqs que dans celuy des houmas, aussi n'en tüent ils jamais et ne veulent pas meme manger de celles que leurs Chiens tuent assez souvent. quand on veut auoir des poulets

for their sick is to suck them Until Blood comes. I saw one in the hands of the old Medicine-men; one whistled and played on a gourd; another sucked; while the third sang the Song of the Crocodile, whose skin served him as a drum. As they are Satisfied with their Squashes and their corn, of which they have an abundance, They are indolent, and hardly ever Hunt. They have nevertheless the reputation of being warriors, and are feared by the neighboring tribes. They are not cruel; and, far from putting to death any slaves whom they may capture, as soon as the latter enter the village the women weep over Them, pity them for having been taken, and afterward treat them better than their own children. When any of their people go out Hunting, the women begin to weep, as if they were about to lose them; And, when they return from Hunting, They weep with joy at seeing them once more. There are few Villages in france where there are more hens and Cocks than in that of the houmas, because they never kill any, and will not even eat any of those that their Dogs quite often kill. When one wishes to obtain chickens from them, He must not say that he intends to kill or eat them. They would give them with reluctance; but they willingly sell these fowls when they are not killed in their presence, or when they are told that they will be taken away to be reared as with them. The hens have little chickens at all times, And in the month of december there were some in all the Cabins, since they keep Warm in the Cabins,—which the people are Careful to keep clean, and which they sweep out 2 or 3 times a day.[27] The Children, the men, and the young men are dressed like the Tounika. The

d'eux, Il ne faut pas dire qu'on les veut tuer ou manger, Ils auroient de la peine a les donner, mais ils les vendent volontiers quand on ne les tue pas en leur presence ou qu'on leur dit qu'on les emporte pour les éleuer comme eux. les poules y ont des petits poulets en tout temps, Et dans le mois de decembre il y en auoit dans toutes les Cabannes, aussi sont elles Chaudem^{t}. dans leurs Cabannes quils ont Soin de tenir propres, et quils balient 2 ou 3 fois le jour; les Enfans les hommes et les jeunes gens sont habillez comme les Tounika les femmes portent un habit frangé, qui les couure depuis la Ceinture jusqu'au dessous des genoux. Quand elles sortent de leur Cabanne elles se couurent d'une Robe de Rats musquez ou de plumes de Cocqs d'Inde Elles ont le visage picqué et figuré, et les cheueux tressez cõme les Tounika, Et les Natches et se noircissent les dents comme Elles; Quoique tous les sauuages craignent extremement le froid, a la moindre gelée (car il ny a pas d'hyuer) Ils se vont baigner grands et petits, et sortent de l'eau transis de froid, C'est un Vieillard qui Fait le Cri au point du jour quand il gele. Ces sortes de bains leurs causent quelquefois le Flux de Sang qui en emporte plusieurs. Au reste Le Pere de Limoges commence a Se Faire entendre, et fera du bien dans cette mission. Il m'a raconté son naufrage, ou il a tout perdu, et la perte est plus considerable qu'on ne peut croire, plus d'une Mission s'en ressentira, ce fut en se laissant deriuer la nuit au Courant que leur Canot hurta Contre un arbre qui êtoit arresté dans le milieu du Courant qui luy fit Faire la pirouette, et demeura sur le Costé plein d'eau, et s'il ne se fut arresté promptement a larbre,

women wear a fringed skirt, which covers them from the Waist to below the knees. When they go out of their Cabins they wear a Robe of Muskrat skins, or of Turkey's feathers. Their faces are tattooed with figures, and they wear their hair plaited like the Tounika And Natches, and blacken their teeth as Those tribes do. Although all savages have a great dread of cold, when there is the slightest frost (for there is no winter here) They all bathe, both great and small, and come out of the water quite chilled with cold. An Old man Calls out at daybreak when it freezes. This kind of bath sometimes brings on a Bloody Flux, which carries off many of them. However, Father de Limoges is beginning to Make Himself understood, and will do good in this mission. He related to me his wreck, in which he lost everything; and the loss is greater than can be believed — more than one Mission will suffer by it. While allowing themselves to drift at night with the Current, their Canoe struck a tree which had stuck in the middle of the Stream. This Upset the canoe, and it remained on its Side full of water; and, had he not promptly caught hold of the tree, He would have been drowned while half asleep. He lost everything except his Chalice, which he saved by pulling it, I know not how, from Its box. That was all that he could save, and it is almost a miracle that he was able to Save himself, after struggling for his life for nearly three hours, by means of a branch of a tree swept down by the current, to which he fastened himself with his 2 canoemen. He allowed Himself to drift with the Current, which at last carried the tree to land; and, after drying themselves without a fire in the wind and Sun, as well as they

Il se seroit noyé a demi endormie. Il a tout perdu hors son Calice quil sauva le tirant je ne sçay comment de Sa cassette c'est tout ce qu'il put conseruer, et c'est un espece de miracle qu'il ait pû se Sauuer luy même, apres auoir disputé sa vie presque trois heures au moyen d'une branche d'arbre que le courant emportoit et a laquelle il s'estoit attaché auec ses 2 matelots, Jl S'est laissé aller au Courant, qui la enfin poussé a terre et apres s'estre seiché sans feu au vent et au Soleil du mieux quils ont pû, Ils ont fait un Cajeu de 3 ou 4 pieds de bois flottant quils ont liez auec des harres, et ont naviguéz trois jours entiers Sur ce nouueau Canot, toujours entre deux eaux Sans manger autre chose durant ce temps la qu'un peu de pourpié Sauuage tout crû. ce Cher Mission^re^. m'a dit la qu'il s'estoit lors souuenu auec fruit de S^t^. François Xauier disputant sa vie autant de jours avec les Eaux sur un bout de planche, Il decouvrit le 4e. Jour le feu de quelques Akansea qui etoient a la chasse. Il en fut receu et ses deux compagnons fort humainem^t^. ils leur donnerent a manger et les conduisirent jusqu'a Leur village, ou le Pere trouua Son Canot qui s'estoit arresté a des Embarras de bois, il a depuis esté equippé de tout ce qui est necessaire pour sa mission des houmas. D'ou je partis le 4e. Decemb. et apres 3 Lieuës de Navigation nous trouuasmes au Nord de Mississipi la Riuiere rouge dont on parle tant; Si la 3me. tentative que les françois y font depuis 7 ou 8 mois reussit, les Missionnaires y auront un passage pour aller a diverses nations qui bordent cette riuiere qui court au Suëst: elles ne sont presque toutes qu'en petits hameaux Comme les Natchés, ce qui fait dire a ceux qui

could, They made a Raft out of 3 or 4 pieces of driftwood, which they lashed together with withes. They traveled for three whole days On this new Canoe, always half submerged, and Without eating anything during all that time except some Wild purslane, quite raw. That Dear Missionary told me that he then remembered to good purpose St. Francis Xavier, who had struggled for his life in the Waters for as many days, upon a piece of plank. On the 4th Day, he observed the fire of some Akansea who were hunting. He and his two companions were very humanely treated by them. They gave them food, and took them to Their village, where the Father found His Canoe, which had been stopped by a Barrier of driftwood. He has since been equipped with everything necessary for his mission among the houmas. I started from there on the 4th of December, and, after 3 Leagues of Navigation, we found on the North side of the Mississipi the red River, about which so much is said. If the 3rd attempt which the french have made there within 7 or 8 months be successful, the Missionaries will have there a passage by which to reach the various nations along that river, which flows in a Southeasterly direction. They nearly all live only in small hamlets, Like the Natchés, which makes persons who wish to convey a great Idea of all Those Tribes say that there are villages without end, and of 3 or 4, 5 or 6 leagues in extent — trying to make hamlets of 3 or 4 Cabins, separated from one another according to the convenience of the land, pass for so many villages of the same tribe. Monsieur de Bienville, who has penetrated the farthest of all, has told me that the whole country is flooded in the months of

veulent donner de grandes Jdées de toutes Ces Nations quil y a des villages sans fin, et de 3. ou 4. 5 ou 6. lieuës d'étendue voulant faire passer des hameaux de 3. ou 4 Cabannes esloignez les uns des autres pour la commodité du terrain pour autant de villages de la meme nation, Mr. de Bienville qui y a penetré le plus auant, m'a dit que tout etoit inondé dans le mois de mars et d'auril, qu'il y auoit de petites hauteurs chez les Natchitoch assez peuplés ou le bled luy venoit a lepaule à la fin de mars Mr. de St. Denis doit aller Jusqu'aux Kadodakio, et au lieu d'aller du costé des Senis, ou Les Assassins de Mr. de la Salle s'estoient retirez, Il a dû prendre Sur la gauche, et pousser jusqu'aux Kioüahau les plus eloignez que lon scache, ou lon espere trouuer des mines. Il doit estre icy de retour a la fin de ce mois, et s'il ne trouue pas des mines d'argent, on n'a rien moins que ce que l'on Cherche dans l'etablissement de Mississipi qui inonde toutes les terres a plus de 80 lieuës de Son Embouchure a quelques petits Cantons prés

Le 10e nous auons dit la messe de St. françois Xauier pour commencer la deuotion de dix vendredis. le Lendemain nous sommes arriués a la Croix qui marque le village des Baïougoula au Nord du Mississipi, et a 40 Lieuës des houmas. Comme les Eaux ont esté extraordinairement hautes cette année, elles ont miné le Coteau, de plus de 10. pieds de long, d'ou la Croix est tombée auec Les terres qui se sont eboulées; Je ne Suis pas allé jusqu'au village, et ce n'est qu'a mon retour de Bilocchi que j'ay visité les Baiougoula dont le Chef a fait massacrer Celuy des Mougoulacha auec plus de 200 hommes de cette

march and april; that there were small eminences among the Natchitoch that were quite populous, and that corn grew thereon to the height of one's shoulder. At the end of march, Monsieur de St. Denis is to go as Far as the Kadodakio; and instead of going toward the Senis, whither The Assassins of Monsieur de la Salle had fled, He is to go To the left, and push on as far as the Kiouahau, the most remote tribe that we know of, where it is hoped that mines will be found. He is to return here at the end of this month; and, if he finds no silver mines, they have nothing less than what they Seek in the settlement of the Mississipi — which floods all the lands to a distance of more than 80 leagues from Its Mouth, with the exception of a few small Districts.[28]

On the 10th, we said the mass of St. francis Xavier, to commence the devotion of the ten fridays. On the following Day, we arrived at the Cross that marks the village of the Baiougoula, on the North side of the Mississipi, and 40 Leagues from the houmas. As the Waters have been extraordinarily high this year, they have undermined the Hill for a length of over 10 feet, so that the Cross has fallen with The soil that has crumbled away. I Did not go to the village, and it was only on my return from Bilocchi that I visited the Baiougoula. Their Chief caused the Chief of the Mougoulacha to be massacred, with more than 200 men of that tribe, who were very well disposed toward the French, and who lived in the same Village with the Baigougoula as the Piouaroua do with the Kaskaskia. The blood of so many Innocents cries for vengeance; consequently God is beginning to punish them by famine and disease and they must fear that the houmas and the Kolapessas will

nation, qui etoit fort porté pour les François et qui faisoient Village auec les Baigougoula comme font les Pioüaroüa auec les Kaskakia. Le sang de tant d'Innocens crie vengeance, aussi Dieu commence-til a les punir par la famine et la maladie, et ils doiuent craindre que les houmas et les Kolapessas ne vengent le meurtre de tous leurs alliez; Je n'ay rien veu de Sigueux. Je Scay quelques mots de leur langue: mais comme plus de deux tiers étoient absens du village, d'ou la faim les auoit chassez, je n'y ay resté que 4. jours, Ils m'ont promis de rétablir la Chapelle, et de faire tout ce que J'ay demandé: mais si le Chef n'est bien loin de là Jl n'y a pas grande Chose a faire pour un missionnaire: j'ay fait planter une grande croix sur la Coste a la place de celle que les Eaux ont emportée, elles ont crû de vingt pieds de haut. A 5 lieuës plus bas que le village on trouve au Nord un petit bras du Mississipi dont parle M^r^. de la Salle; quil dit auoir plus de 30 brasses d'eau et est fort commode pour les grands vaisseaux; mais M^r^. D'Iberville qui la fait visiter et Sonder, n'y a pas trouué d'eau pour une Chalouppe, plus nous approchons du bas du Mississipi, plus nous allons a l'est, et à l'est Suest, nous trouuons aussi plus de Courants et de mechants Cabannages, et dans les Aunages toujours de la terre glaise; ou bien Il nous Faut entrer bien auant dans le bois ou est il difficile de penetrer et de n'y pas trouuer d'Embarras de Cannes, d'ou l'on ne peut se tirer. Depuis les Natches nous n'auons vecu que de bled d'Inde auec quelques Citroüilles, Car il y a longtemps qu'on ne voit en ces quartiers ny bœuf ny Cheureüil ni ours; et si l'on a trouué quelques outardes ou oyes sauuages elles

avenge the murder of all their allies. I have never seen anything So beggarly.[29] I Know a few words of their language; but, as more than two-thirds of them were away from the village, whence hunger had driven them, I remained there only 4 days. They promised me to restore the Chapel, and to do everything that I asked from them; but, unless the Chief is very far away, There is not much for a missionary to do. I had a cross erected on the Hill, to replace that which had been carried away by the Waters, which rose to a height of twenty feet. At 5 leagues below the village, we find on the North side a small arm of the Mississipi, which Monsieur de la Salle mentions; he says that it has a depth of over 30 brasses of water, and is very convenient for large vessels. But Monsieur D'Iberville — who had the same inspected, and who caused Soundings to be taken — did not find water deep enough to float a Shallop. The more we approach the lower end of the Mississipi, the more we go to the east and to the east-Southeast. We also find more Currents and worse Camping-places, and always clayey ground in the Alder-bushes; or else we Have to go very far into the woods, into which it is difficult to penetrate without meeting Dense Canebrakes, whence one cannot extricate oneself. Since we have left the Natches, we have lived only on Indian corn with a few Squashes — For it is a long time since either wild oxen, Deer, or bears have been seen in this quarter; and, if we have found a few bustards or wild geese, they have been so lean that they were as tasteless as wood. This has caused our Canoemen very often to sigh for the River of the Ilinois, And the beauty of the country and of the landing-places;

etoient si maigres, qu'elles n'avoient pas plus de goust que du bois, ce qui a fait soupirer bien des fois tous nos Canoteurs aprés la Riuiere des Ilinois, Et pour la beauté du pays et des debarquements, et de la quantité de bœufs et de Cheureuils et de toute Sorte de Gibiers gras et excellens. C'est une navigation bien longue que celle du Mississipi bien ennuyante, et bien difficile surtout a remonter et bien incommode a cause des cousins et autres mouches appellées Maringoüins, brulots, Et moustiques, et des grandes pluyes, les Chaleurs excessives, les mechants debarquemens dans la bouë et dans la terre glaise, Souuent jusqu'a mi Jambe et pour la mechante chere, si l'on ne part auec un Canot a demi chargé de viures, on doit s'attendre a bien jeûner, et j'ay de la peine a croire que nos sauuages d'en haut et du Païs des Illinois viennent chercher icy des marchandises de si loin auec tant de peine et tant de risque: La Pirogue des Baïougoulas que nous auons rencontrée ne faisoit pas plus de 3 ou 4 lieuës par jour. Ils etoient mal vêtus pour la Saison, Car ils n'avoient qu'une demie peau de Cheureüil pour se garentir du froid encore y auoit il une vieille qui etoit si miserable quelle n'auoit qu'un peu de mousse pour se Couurir: plusieurs vieilles gens parmi tous ces sauuages n'ont pas d'autre habit. Je Suis enfin arriué le 17e. decemb. au fort de Mississipi. apres 68 Jours de navigation, en descendant ce premier etablissement est au Sud de ce fleuue a 18 lieuës de Son embouchure, Il ny a ni fort ny bastion, ny retranchemens ni redoutes tout consiste en une batterie de 6 pieces de Canon, de 6 et de 8 dressée sur le bord de la Coste, et en 5 ou 6 Cabannes separées les unes des

and for the numbers of wild oxen and Deer, and all Kinds of fat and excellent Game. The navigation of the Mississipi is very slow and tedious, and very difficult — especially in ascending it. It is also very troublesome on account of the gnats and other insects called Mosquitoes, midges, And black flies; the heavy rains; the excessive Heat; the wretched landing-places, — where one must wade in mud and clay, Often half-way up one's Legs, — and the bad food. Unless one set out with a Canoe half full of provisions, he must expect to fast long; and I find it difficult to believe that our savages up above and in the Illinois Country come here to seek for merchandise from so great a distance, with so many difficulties and so many risks. The Pirogue of the Baiougoulas that we met traveled no more than 3 or 4 leagues a day. They were badly clad for the Season, For they had only half a Deerskin to protect them against the cold. There was even an old woman so destitute that she had only a little moss wherewith to Cover herself. Many old people among these savages have no other clothing. At last, on the 17th of december, I reached fort Mississipi, after 68 Days of navigation in descending the river. This first post is on the South side of the river, 18 leagues from Its mouth; There is neither fort, nor bastion, nor intrenchments, nor redouts, — it consists of only a battery of 6 pieces of Cannon, and of 6 or 8 placed on the edge of the Hill; and of 5 or 6 Cabins detached from one another and roofed with palm-leaves. The Commandant, Monsieur de Bienville, has there a small and very neat house. I observed, on arriving, that the men were commencing to suffer from hunger, and that flour was beginning to fail. This compelled me to

autres couuertes de lataniers: le Commandant M^r^. de Bienville y a une petite maison assez propre; Je me suis apperçu en arriuant qu'on commençoit a crier a la faim, et que les farines commencoient a manquer, ce qui m'a obligé pour n'estre pas a charge a personne de me mettre aux viures Sauuages, et de me contenter de bled d'Inde sans viande ny poisson, Jusqu'a l'arriuée des vaisseaux qu'on nattend gueres qu'a la fin de mars; si lon etablit le Mississipi l'on transportera le fort, ou plutost on le faira aux Baïougoulas a 40 lieuës plus haut: car les grandes Eaux debordent si furieusem^t^. icy quils ont esté 4 mois dans l'eau, et souuent jusqu'a mi Jambe hors de leurs Cabannes quoique les sauuages les eussent asseurez que ce lieu n'inondoit jamais. le bled qu'on auoit semé icy êtoit deja assez haut quand l'inondãon qui se fit d'un furieux coup de mer dans le mois d'Aoust l'emporta. le Jardinage na gueres mieux reussi, outre qu'il y a une grande quantité de serpents noirs qui mangent les laictües et les autres legumes jusqu'a la racine. Pour ce qui est du Fort de Bilocchi a 30 lieuës d'icy, outre que l'air y est meilleur, le païs plus decouuert, l'on y fait toute sorte de Jardinages, Le Cheureüil en est tout proche et il y a tres bonne chasse; et pour y temperer la Chaleur qui y seroit excessive, tous les jours une heure ou deux auant midy, il vient un vent de la mer qu'ils appellent la brise qui rafraichit l'air, Il n'y a que l'eau qui n'y est pas fort bonne, C'est une petite source qui la leur fournit; car celle de la Baye est plus que Sommatre et n'est pas potable. Cette Baye qui donne le nom au fort, prend le Sien des Sauuages Bilocchis, qui en Sont les plus proches, et S'appelle

live on the same food as do the Savages, so as not to be a burden upon any one; and to content myself with Indian corn, without meat or fish, Until the arrival of the ships, which are not expected here before the end of march. If the Mississipi country be settled, the fort will be transported to — or, rather, will be erected among — the Baiougoulas, 40 leagues higher up; for the high Waters flood the place — to such an extent that the men spent 4 months in the water; and frequently had to wade mid-Leg deep in it outside of their Cabins, although the savages had assured them that this spot was never inundated. The wheat that had been sown was already quite high, when the inundation caused by a heavy sea, in the month of August, carried it away. The Garden did not succeed any better; and, besides, there are great numbers of black snakes that eat the lettuce and other vegetables down to the roots. As to the Fort of Bilocchi, 30 leagues from here, not only is the air purer, but the country is more open, and all kinds of Garden produce can be grown. Deer abound in the immediate vicinity, and there is very good hunting; and — to temper the Heat, which would otherwise be excessive — every day, an hour or two before noon, a wind blows from the sea which is called "the breeze," and it cools the air. Only the water is not good there. It is supplied by a small spring, for the water in the Bay is more than Brackish, and is not drinkable. This Bay, which gives the fort its name, takes its Own from the Bilocchi Savages, who Are nearest to it, and is called The Bay of Bilocchi. There are over 120 men in this fort, which is regularly built; it is armed with 12 pieces of Cannon, and as many swivel-

La Baye de Bilocchi. Il y a plus de 120 hommes dans ce fort bien auec 12 pieces de Canon, et autant de pierriers braqués sur les bastions; Il n'y a que les Chalouppes, et le trauersier qui ne porte pas 100 tonneaux qui puissent entrer dans cette Baye, les vaisseaux les peuuent approcher que de 5 lieuës et demeurent a la rade deuant une Isle, ou il y a bon moüillage, et qui s'appelle l'Isle des vaisseaux; Il n'y a point de ports dans tout ce pays que celuy des Pansacolas, dont les Espagnols se sont emparez, et ou ils ne S'estoient etablis que 3 semaines auant que M^r^. D'Iberuille fut arriué a la Coste. Le Fort de Bilocchi, n'est eloigné que de 30. Lieuës de celuy des Espagnols; l'entreprise du Gouuerneur luy reussit mal l'année passée. s'estant auancé auec deux nauires, il fut surpris de trouuer 4 gros vaisseaux a la rade, et une forte garnison au Fort. Il dit par galanterie a nos Officiers qu'il visitoit la coste pour en Chasser les Anglois. Monsr. d'Iberuille qui visitoit le Mississipi auoit auerti de se menager auec les Espagnols et de bien receuoir le Gouuerneur s'il venoit a son bord, selon l'ordre qu'il en auoit luy même de la Cour; Il fut regalé magnifiquement, viue le Roy de france, viue le Roy d'Espagne, viue M^r^. d'Iberuille auec quantité de volées de Canon, et en partant il laissa une lettre pour M^r^. d'Iberuille C'estoit ses oppos^ns^. dont il scauoit bien qu'on se mocqueroit, a peine eût il quitté nos vaisseaux, quil fut pris en pleine mer d'un coup de Vent qui fit ouurir et perdre son vaisseau. Il se sauua dans une Chaloupe auec peu de gens et reuint a nos vaisseaux. Nos Officiers faisant paroître auoir plus de déplaisir qu'ils n'en auoient, le receurent parfaitement

guns, mounted on the bastions. Only Shallops and the lighter, which carries less than 100 tons, can enter the Bay. Ships cannot approach nearer than 5 leagues; and they remain in the roadstead, in front of an Island where there is good anchorage, and which is called *Isle des vaisseaux* [ship Island]. There are no ports in the whole of that country except that of Pansacolas, which the Spaniards have seized — and where they had not been settled for more than 3 weeks before Monsieur D'Iberville arrived on the Coast. The Fort of Bilocchi is distant only 30 Leagues from that of the Spaniards.[30] The Governor's expedition met only with ill success last year. Having advanced with two vessels, he was surprised to find 4 large ships in the roadstead, and a strong garrison in the Fort. Through politeness, he told the Officers that he was visiting the coast to Drive the English away. Monsieur d'Iberville, who was visiting the Mississipi country, had warned his officers to be careful in their conduct toward the Spaniards, and to receive the Governor well if he came on board his ship,—in accordance with the order which he himself had received to that effect from the Court. He was given a magnificent reception; shouts of *Vive le Roy de france! Vive le Roy d'Espagne! Vive Monsieur d'Iberville!* were uttered, while many salvos were fired from the Cannons; and on his departure he left a letter for Monsieur d'Iberville. It contained his objections, which he knew very well would be laughed at. Hardly had he quitted our ships when he was struck by a Squall in the open sea, which caused his ship to spring a leak and founder. He saved himself in a Shallop, with a few of his people, and returned to our ships. Our

bien, l'equiperent genereusement de tout, et le firent reconduire dans une double Chaloupe auec toutes les rames, et Chapeaux bas, jusqu'a son fort des Pansacolas, a son depart il fut encore salué d'une decharge de toute n^re^. Artillerie; Il a esté fait grand Maitre de l'Artillerie d'Espagne, et son Major a esté fait gouuerneur qui a enuoyé une Chaloupe au fort de Bilocchi a M^r^. de Sauuol pour reclamer 10 hommes par le major nouueau, pretendant quils auoient deserté: mais dans le Fond ce n'etoit que pour visiter le Fort qui ne les craint pas, et pour venir chercher de la toile et des hardes; Car ils manquent de tout. Ils ont achepté tout ce quils ont trouué, et ont dit quil reuiendroient quand ils Scauroient que nos vaisseaux Seront arriuez, quoi que l'on soit dêja court de viures du moins de farine francoise, Car le Lard, les Poix, et les féues n'y manquent pas encore. Le Gouuerneur a fait cacher le bled d'Inde, et a fait paroître du pain François dans tout le Fort, il a parfaittem^t^ regalé le major, volailles, Cochon de lait et Cheureüil, vin de Madere, l'equipage a eté regalé a proportion, et a donné au Major toute sorte de rafraichissemens pour son retour, et a fait present au nouueau Gouuerneur d'un Fusil de grand prix. Au reste pour aller d'icy au fort de Bilocchi, Il faut faire en partant un portage d'un bon demi quart de lieuë dans la vase et dans l'eau Jusqu'aux genoux, et faire prouïon d'eau autant quil en faut pour aller jusqu'a Bilocchi, car la petite riuiere que l'on trouue a un quart de lieuë d'icy est sommatre c'est a dire qu'elle est meslée d'eau de mer, elle se decharge dans un lac de 2. Lieuës de trauerse et apres auoir couru 5 ou 6 lieuës au Suest, sur la mer le long des Isles on

Officers, who manifested more regret than they felt, received him very well; they generously supplied him with everything, and had him taken back in a double Shallop — with all oars, and with Hats off — to his fort of Pansacolas. On his departure he was again saluted with a discharge of all our Artillery. He has been made grand Master of the Artillery of Spain; and his Major, who has been made governor, sent a Shallop to the fort of Bilocchi to Monsieur de Sauvol[31] to claim through the new major 10 men, pretending that they had deserted. But, in Reality, it was only an excuse to visit the Fort, — which fears them not, — and for the purpose of procuring linen and clothing Because they lack everything. They purchased all that they could get, and said that they would return as soon as they should Learn that our ships Had arrived. Although we are already short of provisions, — at least, of french flour; For of Pork, Peas, and beans there is yet no lack, — the Governor caused the Indian corn to be concealed, and displayed French bread all over the Fort. He regaled the major elaborately, with poultry, sucking Pig, Venison, and Madeira wine; the crew were regaled in proportion; and he gave the Major all sorts of provisions for his return, and made the new Governor a present of a valuable Gun. However, to go from here to the fort of Bilocchi, It is necessary, at the start, to cross a portage of a good eighth of a league, in mud and water Up to one's knees. One must also take a sufficient supply of water to last until Bilocchi is reached, for the little river a quarter of a league from here is brackish — that is, it is mixed with sea water; it discharges into a lake 2 Leagues wide. Then, after running 5 or 6 leagues to the

coupe au nord est au large des Isles jusqu'a 7 lieuës du fort, qu'on gagne la terre ferme que l'on suit jusqu'a l'entrée de la Baye de Bilocchi a la veüe du fort ou il faut trauerser. J'y suis arriué le d^er^. Jour de l'année 1700 ou j'ay esté bien receu du Gouuerneur; J'y ay trouué Le pere du Ru, outre les fonctions de mission^re^. Il fait encore celles d'Aumonier d'une maniere tres édifiante, et vous ne pouuies pas mieux Choisir, Mon R. P. pour procurer un excellent Mission^re^. au Mississipi qui a tout ce quil faut pour bien commencer et pour former les nouuelles missions qu'on y veut etablir, Il a beaucoup de facilité pour les langues; Je n'ay resté que 8 jours. J'ay esté onze jours a me rendre icy par la faute de n^re^ guide qui a perdu sa route, et qui nous a fait manquer un vent fauorable, qui nous eust rendu au fort le 3e. jour. mais apres auoir consommé n^re^ demie barrique d'eau, nous l'auons remplie d'Eau soumatre, qui a Fait plus de peine a mes Canoteurs qu'a moy qui me Suis accoutumé a ne guere boire en voyage, nous auons tous fait mechante Chere; Car nous auons esté reduits au seul bled d'Inde durant 4. jours, et il etoit aussi dur apres auoir bouilly toute la nuit dans cette Eau Sommatre que quand on le mettoit dans la Chaudière. Nous allions d'Isle en Jsle, sur la mer du golfe mexique, et plus nous nauigions, plus nous nous eloignions de nôtre route dans cette extremité n'ayant presque plus d'Eau soumatre, nous nous recommandasmes a Dieu, et Je promis de faire une neufuaine a lhonneur de S^t^. francois Xauier et de dire la messe en actions de graces dés que je Serois arriué au Fort. le lendemain nous nous rembarquames dans notre canot et a une heure

Southeast, on the sea, along the Islands, we cross to the northeast, outside the Islands, to 7 leagues from the fort; there the mainland is reached, and is followed to the entrance of the Bay of Bilocchi in sight of the fort, to reach which we must cross the bay. I arrived there on the last Day of the year 1700, and was well received by the Governor. I found father du Ru there. Besides the duties of missionary, he also performs those of Chaplain in a very edifying manner. You cannot, My Reverend Father, possibly make a happier Choice of a Missionary for the Mississipi country, because he has all the qualifications requisite for solidly founding and increasing the new missions that are to be established there. He has a great aptitude for learning languages. I remained only 8 days with him; and it took me eleven days to get here, through the fault of our guide, who lost his way and made us lose a favorable wind, which would have taken us back to the fort on the 3rd day. But after consuming our half cask of water, we filled it with brackish Water; this Gave more trouble to my Canoemen than to me, for I Have accustomed myself to drink but little while traveling. We all Fared badly, For we were reduced to Indian corn alone during 4 days; and, after it had been boiled all night in that Brackish Water, it was as hard as when it was put into the Kettle. We sailed on the mexican sea or gulf from Island to Island, and the farther we sailed the more we deviated from our route. In this extremity, when we had hardly any brackish Water left, we commended ourselves to God. I promised to make a novena in honor of St. francis Xavier, and to say mass in thanksgiving, as soon as I arrived at the Fort. On the following

apres midy nous nous trouuames à la pointe a leri que nous auions doublée depuis 4 jours dou nous auons Coupé aux Isles de large, nous auons fait deux grandes trauerses de 5 lieuës au Sud Suest; et a la veuë des bois du Mississipi nous sommes enfin grâces a Dieu entrés dans une riuiere ou nous auons etanché n^re^ soif et qui nous a conduits a demi quart de lieuë du Mississipi ou nous sommes heureusem^t^. arriuez et apres un demi quart de lieuë de portage nous nous sommes trouuez a 8. petites lieuës du fort ou nous sommes arriuez l'onzième jour de nôtre depart de Bilocchi; sans la protection de S^t^. françois Xauier je crois que nous eussions encore longtemps rodé sans Eau, je suis party le landemain pour aller aux Baiougoulas qui sont 40 lieuës plus haut; je n'y ay fait qu'une partie de ce que je voulois y ayant trouué peu de monde, Dieu ma fait la grace d'y baptiser un petit enfant de 2 ans moribond a qui j'ay ouuert le Ciel. Je suis de retour dans ce fort depuis 4. jours L'arriuée des vaisseaux qu'on attend de jour en jour me determinera sur ce que je dois faire, si j'attendray l'arriuée de M^r^. d'Iberuille, ou si je remonteray aux Ilinois par les premiers Canots. Au reste il n'y a pas de vaisseau qui puisse entrer dans la riuiere de Mississipi, s'il tire plus de 9. ou 10. pieds d'eau; Car il n'y en a qu'onze a l'Embouchure: L'Entrée passée Il n'y a pas de Vaisseau qui ne puisse nauiguer fort auant dans cette Riuiere. Il y a icy 15 a 16 brasses d'Eau, la pluspart des flutes qui n'en tirent que 9 pourroient y entrer bien auant, Car le bâtiment Anglois que M^r^. d'Iberuille trouua L'année passée a 8 lieuës d'icy tiroit encore moins d'eau; le Capitaine auoit pour se conduire la

day, we reëmbarked in our canoe; and at one o'clock in the afternoon we found ourselves at point a leri which we had doubled 4 days before, whence we Crossed over to the Islands outside. We made two long crossings of 5 leagues to the South-Southeast, and came in sight of the Mississipi woods. Finally, thanks be to God, we entered a river where we quenched our thirst. This stream took us to within an eighth of a league of the Mississipi, where we arrived safely; and, after a portage of an eighth of a league, we found ourselves 8 short leagues from the fort, which we reached on the eleventh day after our departure from Bilocchi. Had it not been for the protection of St. francis Xavier, I think that we would have wandered a good while longer without Water. I left on the following day to go to the Baiougoulas, 40 leagues higher up. I accomplished there only a portion of what I wished to do, for I found very few people there. God granted me the grace of baptizing a little child 2 years old, who was dying, and to whom I opened the gate of Heaven. I came back to this fort 4 days ago. The arrival of the ships, which are expected from day to day, will enable me to decide what I shall do; whether to await the arrival of Monsieur d'Iberville, or to return to the Ilinois by the first Canoes. However, no ship can enter the Mississipi river if she draws more than 9 or 10 feet of water, For there are only eleven at its Mouth. The Entrance once passed, There is not a Ship that cannot sail a long distance up the River. There are from 15 to 16 brasses of Water here; most of the store-ships, which draw only 9 feet, could go far up, For the English ship that Monsieur d'Iberville found last year 8 leagues from here drew still

Relation de Mr. de la Salle et de quelques autres fort mauuais memoires qui font mention de L'embouchure de ce fleuue. Cet Anglois qui en parloit a Mr. de Bienville s'applaudissoit de ce quil auoit pû trouuer l'entrée du Mississipi dont un de ceux qui en ont ecrit est un apostat qui a presenté au Roy Guillaume la Relation du Mississipi, ou il ne fut jamais, et apres mille mensonges et de ridicules vanteries, Il prétend faire voir les justes pretentions et le droit incontestable que le Roy Guillaume a sur le Mississipi &c.

Il fait paroître dans Sa Relation Mr. de la Salle blessé de deux balles dans la teste, qui se tourne vers le Pere Anastase Recollet pour luy demander l'absolution, (ce qu'il n'eut pas asseurement le temps de faire) ayant ête tué tout roide sans dire un seul mot et autres semblables faux narrés. Je ne scay ce que la Cour decidera du Mississipi si l'on ne trouue les mines d'argent: Car elle ne cherche pas de terres a cultiuer, Il y en a peu a plus de 80 lieuës d'icy qui ne soient inondées par le grand debordement du Mississipi, on n'a pas encore les mines que l'on cherchoit. on ne se soucie gueres de celles de plomb qui sont tres abondantes vers Les Ilinois et plus haut dans le Mississipi du costé des Scioux. Il y a à la verité bien des ames a gagner a J. C. le long du Mississipi et encore plus dans les terres et dans la Riuiere rouge; mais il y a plus de monde dans la seulle mission des Jlinois, que je n'en ay vû chez les Tounika, Baiougoula, et houmas, et qu'il n'y en a Chez les Bilocchi, Chez les Colapessas et Chez tous les sauuages de la Riuiere la mobile qui Sont entre le Fort de Bilocchi et celuy des Espagnols, et des Pansacolas. Cela n'empesche pas que les Missionnaires

less water. The Captain had for his guidance Monsieur de la Salle's Relation, and some other very incorrect memoirs that mention The mouth of the river. That Englishman, who was talking about it to Monsieur de Bienville, congratulated himself upon having found the entrance to the Mississipi. One of those who have written of it is an apostate, who presented to King William the Relation of the Mississipi, whither he never went; and, after a thousand falsehoods and ridiculous boasts, He pretends to establish the first claims and the incontestable right of King William to the Mississipi, etc.[32]

He depicts in His Relation Monsieur de la Salle wounded, with two balls in his head, turning to Father Anastase, a Recollet, to ask for absolution,—(which he certainly could not have had time to do,) for he was killed outright, without saying a word,—and other similar false statements. I know not what the Court will decide with reference to the Mississipi, if no silver mines be found there; For they seek not lands to cultivate. There are but few districts, to a distance of 80 leagues from here, that are not flooded by the great overflow of the Mississipi. The mines that have been sought for have not yet been found; but little heed is paid to the lead mines, which are very plentiful toward The Ilinois country, and higher up the Mississipi toward the Scioux. There are, in truth, many souls to be won to Jesus Christ along the Mississipi, and still more inland and along the red River. But there are more people in the Ilinois mission alone than I have seen among the Tounika, the Baiougoula and the houmas; and more than there are Among the Bilocchi, the Colapessas, and all the savages of the River mobile, who Are between

ne trouuent bien de quoy s'occuper dans chaque village dont les Sauuages me paroissent fort dociles plaise au Seigneur de leur enuoyer des gens dont Le zele Leur ouure Le Ciel et leur en apprenne Le Chemin. l'on dit qu'en remontant la Riuiere des mobiliens, il se trouue de nombreuses nations, ou je n'ai pas esté. Quand M^r^. de la Salle vint par mer chercher l'embouchure du Mississipi il passa outre sans s'en apperceuoir qu'a plus de 15 lieuës au de la, et ne voulant pas faire paroître qu'il s'etoit trompé, Il poussa plus loin Jusqu'a 80 lieuës d'icy, ou il fit un fort, et dans le dessein de se rendre en triomphe aux Ilinois il s'en alla de son fort aux Senis Sauuages dans les Terres, et c'est de leur village que M^r^. Cavelier prestre partit apres la tragique mort de Son Frere pour se rendre au trauers des terres aux Akansea et de la en Pirogue jusqu'aux Ilinois. et enfin a Kebec ou il s'embarqua pour reuenir en france luy 5^e^. Les Espagnols se rendirent peu de temps apres les maîtres du fort de M^r^. de la Salle dans lequel plus de 150 personnes moururent de misere et de maladies les Espagnols enleuerent le reste des françois qu'ils y trouuerent et vinrent ensuite aux Senis ou ils laisserent 20 hommes avec 3. Cordeliers, et d'où ils emmenerent deux françois quils y trouuerent, et qui sont a pñt au fort de Bilocchi, c'est de ces deux François qu'on a scû ce que sont devenus les tristes restes de ce grand equippem^t^. de M^r^. de la Salle qui auoit 400 hõmes en partant de S^t^. Domingue pour chercher l'embouchure du Mississipi. Ce fut aux senis que les meurtriers de M^r^. de la salle se firent sauuages cõe eux, apres que quelques uns se furent entretués. Voila au juste mon R. P. le

Fort Bilocchi and that of the Spaniards and the Pansacolas. This does not prevent the Missionaries from finding plenty of occupation in each village, wherein the Savages seem to me very docile. May the Lord be pleased to send them persons whose zeal will open Heaven to Them, and teach them The Road to it. It is said that there are numerous tribes up the River of the mobilians, where I have not been. When Monsieur de la Salle came by sea to look for the mouth of the Mississipi, he went past without noticing it, until he had sailed 15 leagues beyond it; and, being unwilling to show that he had been mistaken, He pushed on To a place 80 leagues from here, where he built a fort. Then, with the design of proceeding in triumph to the Ilinois country, he went from his fort to the Senis, Savages who dwell Inland; and it was from their village that Monsieur Cavelier, the priest, set forth, after His Brother's tragic death, to go across the country to the Akansea, thence in a pirogue to the Ilinois, and finally to Kebec — where he, with 4 others, embarked to return to france. The Spaniards shortly afterward made themselves masters of the fort of Monsieur de la Salle, in which more than 150 persons died of hardships and disease. The Spaniards took away the remainder of the french whom they found there, and afterward came to the Senis country, where they left 20 men with 3 Cordeliers; from that place also they took away two frenchmen whom they found there, who are now at fort Bilocchi. It is from those two Frenchmen that our people learned what had become of the sorry remnants of that great expedition of Monsieur de la Salle — who had 400 men with him when he left St. Domingo to seek for the mouth of the Mississipi. Among the senis the

detail de mon voyage et de tout ce que j'ay pû apprendre dans ma route et par tout ce que j'ay vû et remarqué, et par tout ce que J'ay apris icy du Commandant M^r^. de Bienville, frere de M^r^. d'Iberuille qui a le plus decouuert de pays. j'ajoute que cest aux saules et non pas aux mauriers que les vers a soye s'attachent, et font leurs coques en ce païs. On ne pourroit pas faire le premier etablissement en un lieu ou il y eût plus de Maringouins qu'icy; Il y en a pendant presque toute l'année. A la verité ils nous ont donné un peu de treues 7 ou 8 jours, mais a lheure qu'il est Jls me picquent bien serré et dans le mois de decembre, qu'on n'en deuroit estre importuné, il y en auoit une si furieuse quantité, que je ne pouuois ecrire un mot, que je n'en eusse les mains et le visage tout couuert et qu'il m'etoit impossible de dormir pendant la nuit, j'en ay êté si incommodé a un œil que j'ay pensé le perdre. Les françois de ce fort me disoient que depuis le mois de mars, il y en a une si prodigieuse quantité que l'air en est tout couuert et que l'on ne s'entreuoit pas a dix pas les uns des autres, Je reste icy jusqu'a l'arriuée de M^r^. D'Jberuille cõme je m'y Suis en quelque facon obligé, pour seruir d'aumonier aux françois qui sont en ce poste et dont plusieurs sont Canadiens. J'ay bien a souffrir de ces Jmportuns Cousins Jusqu'au mois de may, et encore plus en remontant le fleuue, puisque je ne le pourray faire que lors qu'il y en aura une Si grande quantité, que l'on ne pourra ny reposer de nuit ny mettre a terre de Jour pour faire cuire du bled d'Jnde sans en estre deuoré, Dieu Soit beni de tout, Je dois estre content de tout, quoy qu'il m'en couste, pourueu que ce voiage de plus de mille

murderers of Monsieur de la salle became savages like them, after some of them had killed one another.[33] Such, my Reverend Father, are the precise details of my voyage, of all that I was able to learn on the way, and of all that I have seen and noticed and heard here from the Commandant, Monsieur de Bienville, brother of Monsieur d'Iberville, who has explored most of this country. I may add that it is to the willows, and not to the mulberry-trees, that the silkworms attach themselves when they spin their cocoons in this country. No settlement could be established in a place where there are more Mosquitoes than here. There are some nearly all the year round. To be sure, they gave us a short truce of 7 or 8 days; but at this very moment They are stinging me badly. Even in the month of december, when one should not be troubled with them, there was so great a number of them that I could not write a word; my hands and face were covered with them, and I was unable to sleep at night. One eye was so badly stung by them that I almost lost it. The french at this fort told me that, after the month of march, these insects came in so prodigious a number that the air was obscured; and that they could not distinguish one another at a distance of ten paces. I remain here until Monsieur D'Iberville's arrival, as I Am in some sort obliged to do, in order to serve as chaplain to the french at this post, many of whom are Canadians. I have much to suffer from those Troublesome Flies Up to the month of may, and still longer, while ascending the river; for I shall not be able to do so until the mosquitoes will be So abundant that we shall not be able to rest at night, or to land in the Daytime to cook some Indian corn, without being devoured by

Lieuës que J'ay entrepris par le bien de nos missions den haut leur puisse estre utile a quelque chose aussi bien que mon retardement qui n'est que pour me mieux assurer de la verité priez Dieu pour nous mon R. Pere et croyez que

Je suis auec beaucoup de respect
Mon Reuerend Pere
Votre tres humble et tres
Obeissant Seruiteur
Jacques Grauier

Depuis cette lettre ecrite Il y eut un an en feurier dernier de la presente année 1702. Les françois ont abandonné les deux postes cy dessus mentionnés tant du Mississipi, que de la baye de Bilocchi pour se placer à La riuiere appellée la mobile du nom des sauuages qui y ont leur village appellés mobiliens. Cette riuiere entre dans la mer a 15 lieuës en deça de Bilocchi. Il y a 2 iles peu eloignées de son emboucheurre qui font un port pour Les nauires; et en montant auec des Chalouppes l'espace de 14 lieuës sur la mobile, il s'y trouue a present un fort Regulier construit par M^r^. d'Jberuille, et des maisons pour les soldats et pour quelques francois venus de Canada. Le sol en est fort bon; on y a tracé le plan d'une ville qui se formera, des Colonies francoises qu'on envoyera si la cour Le Juge apropos. Il y a diuers villages d'indiens a une, deux et 3 journées du fort de La mobile, que les nouueaux missionnaires pourront instruire en n^re^ S^te^. Religion.

them. God Be praised for everything. I must be content with all, whatever it may cost me,— provided this voyage of over a thousand Leagues, which I have undertaken for the good of our missions in the upper country, may be of some use to them, as well as my delay, which is caused through my desire better to ascertain the truth. Pray to God for us, my Reverend Father; and believe that

I am with much respect,
My Reverend Father,
Your very humble and very
Obedient Servant,
JACQUES GRAVIER.

Since this letter was written,—a year ago, last february, that of the present year, 1702,—The french have abandoned the two posts mentioned above, both that of Mississipi and that of the bay of Bilocchi, to establish themselves on The river called the mobile, from the name of the savages who have their village there, and are called mobilians. That river falls into the sea 15 leagues this side of Bilocchi. There are 2 islands at a short distance from its mouth, that form a port for ships; and, on ascending in Shallops a distance of 14 leagues up the mobile, there is a Regular fort built by Monsieur d'Iberville, with houses for the soldiers and for some frenchmen who have come from Canada. The soil is very good. The plan of a town has been traced out, which will be settled by french Colonies that will be sent there, if the court Deem expedient. There are some indian villages at distances of one, two, and 3 days' journey from fort mobile, whom the new missionaries may instruct in our Holy Religion.[34]

Les Revenus des Jésuites en Canada, 1701.

NOUS Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus en Canada soussignez pour obeir a lordre de sa majté. lequel nous a esté notifié par Mr. le Cher. de Calliere gouverneur et lieutenant general dans toute la [nouuelle] france s[e]ptentrionale et par Mr. de Champigny jntendant du pays Certiffions que nos Revenus fixes et Casuels auec et nos Charges et obligations sont tels qujl en suit

Le Roy par sa liberalité nous donne en Canada pour le soutien de nos missions chez toutes les nations estrangeres de ce pays dans l'estendüe de 7. a 800 lieues une pension sur l'estat de 5000ll

De plus par gratiffication sur les droits d'entrée . . . . . 315.

Item pour le 3e. Regent du College de Quebec 400

Il y a encore une aumosne en un don que fait sa majté aux Abnaquis et aux jroquois convertis en la foy pour assister les orphelins, veuues, vieillards Et pauures sans que ny nous ny les missionnaires qui ont soin de Ces sauuages en proffitions en aucune maniere ce don et aumosne est de la somme de 1500ll

Revenues of the Jesuits in Canada, 1701.

WE, the undersigned, Religious of the Society of Jesus in Canada, in obedience to the order of his majesty which has been made known to us by Monsieur the Chevalier de Calliere, governor and lieutenant-general in all northern new france, and by Monsieur de Champigny, intendant of the country, do Certify that our fixed Revenues and Perquisites, with both our Taxes and obligations, are as follows:

The King in his liberality gives us in Canada, for the maintenance of our missions among all the foreign nations of this country, in an extent of 7 to 800 leagues, a pension from the state of 5,000 livres.

And, besides, in a gratuity from the custom-duties . . . . . 315 "

Item, for the 3rd Instructor at the College of Quebec . . . 400 "

There is also a charitable donation, a gift made by his majesty to the Abnaquis and the iroquois converted to the faith, to assist the orphans, widows, old people, And poor, from which neither we nor the missionaries who have charge of Those savages have profited in any manner. This gift and alms amounts to . 1,500 livres.

LE REVENU DE NOSTRE PROPRE BIEN A QUEBEC

Notre maison de la basse ville est loüéé . 300ll.

Celle de la hautte ville est loüéé . . 120.

Notre moulin attenant au College sans frais extraordinaires peut donner de reuenu . 300

Une petite terre vis a vis de quebec a la Coste de lauzon . . . . . 30.

La Terre de nostre Dame des anges ou jl y a moulins, meteries cens et rentes et passages sur la petite Riuiere S^t^. Charles . 1205

La Seigneurie de Sillery a cause des rentes des tenanciers de la pesche d'anguilles et d'un moulin environ 250

La Terre de S^t^. gabriel dont le sol est presque partout steril et jngrat environ . 40.

La Seigneurie de Batiscan en rentes seigneurialles et pour le moulin environ . 300

Le Cap de la Magdelaine qui est une terre sabloneuse sans bois de chauffage, sterile et abandonnéé presque de tous les habitans qui s'y estoient establis peut produire 160

La Petite terre des trois Riuieres environ 60

La Prairie de la magdelaine et de S^t^ lambert ou jl y a moulin, terre du domaine et rentes de quelques tenanciers qui ont resté et presque tous Ruinez par la guerre des jroquois . . . . . 385.

Le Casuel soit en lots et ventes ou vieilles dettes ou autres choses semblables . . 280

THE REVENUE FROM OUR OWN PROPERTY AT QUEBEC.

Our house in the lower town is rented at	300	livres.
That in the upper town is rented at	120	"
Our mill close by the College may, unless there be unusual expenses, yield a revenue of . . .	300	"
A little piece of land opposite quebec, at Coste de lauzon . .	30	"
The Estate of nostre Dame des anges, where there are mills and farms, *cens et rentes*, and tolls upon the little River St. Charles . . .	1,205	"
The Seigniory of Sillery, on account of the rents from the tenants, the eel-fisheries, and a mill, about . .	250	"
The Estate of St. gabriel, the soil of which is almost everywhere sterile and unprofitable, about . .	40	"
The Seigniory of Batiscan, in seigniorial rents and for the mill, about	300	"
Cap de la Magdelaine, which is a sandy piece of land, without trees for firewood, sterile, and abandoned by nearly all the habitans who had established themselves there, may yield .	160	"
The Little piece of land at three Rivers, about	60	"
La Prairie de la magdelaine, and [the parish] of St. lambert, where there is a mill and domain, and rents from some tenants who have remained and are almost all Ruined by the iroquois war	385	"

Notre reuenu en france frais faits et charges payéés que nous receuons icy peut monter pour le plus a . . . 4000

Ainsy tout le Reuenu des peres jesuites de Canada peut se monter a la somme de . 13145

Il est Vray que quant les annéés sont bonnes jl peut augmenter de 10000ll. ou enuiron mais aussy quant elles sont mauvaises ou par les saisons, ou par la guerre qui fait tout encherire dans les pays eloignez les reuenus diminuent e la depense augmente beaucoup.

LE DEPENSÉ

Sur le Reuenu cy dessus jl faut nourir habiller fournir de necessaire quarante huit Religieux que nous sommes, neuf domestiques perpetuels que l'on nomme donnez quasi tous ageez et usez dans les missions de mesme que la plus part des peres qui y ont vieilly et qui restent Cassez des rudes trauaux de telles missions; Nous auons encore dans nos missions du moins quatorze hommes ou seruiteurs a gages pour mener en canot les missionnaires aux lieux eloignez ou demeurent les sauuages; les fournir de bois et les ayder dans d'autres choses semblables

Jl faut adjoutter l'entretien de nos sacristies, de nos eglises ou chapelles dans les missions, les reparãons de nos batimens les depenses pour tant de voyages pour les allez et venus des missionnaires, sur tout les grands frais pour porter aux missionnaires á 3. ou 4 et a 500 lieues de quebec toutes leur necessitez les aumosnes aux pauures françois et Sauuages. Ainsy nous n'auons que tres mediocrement pour fournir a

The Perquisites in either *lots* [*lods*] *et ventes*, or old debts, or similar matters 280 livres.

Our revenue in france, expenses and charges defrayed, which we receive here, may amount, at the most, to . 4,000 "

Thus all the Revenues of the jesuit fathers of Canada may amount to . 13,145 "

It is True that, when the years are good, this may be increased by 1,000 livres, or thereabout; but, when they are bad,—either through the seasons, or through war, which causes everything to become dear in distant countries,—the revenues diminish accordingly, and the expenses greatly increase.[85]

THE EXPENDITURES.

From the above Revenues we must feed, clothe, and furnish with necessaries our fathers and brethren who are here,—forty-eight Religious, and nine perpetual domestics called "donnez," almost all of whom are aged and worn out in the missions; so are also most of the fathers, who have grown old and are Broken down by the arduous labors of such missions. We have also in our missions at least fourteen men as hired servants, to take the missionaries in canoes to the remote places where the savages live, to furnish them with wood, and to help them in other like ways.

There must be added the maintenance of our sacristies, and of our churches or chapels in the missions, and the repairs of our buildings; the expenses for all the journeys of the missionaries coming and going; and, above all, the great outlays for carrying to the missionaries, at 3, 4, and 500 leagues from quebec, all their necessaries, and the alms to the poor, both french and Savages. Thus we have

tant de depenses et outre plus de 6000ll. que nous deuons actuellement, nous auons a payer shaque annéé une rente de 1000ll. amortissable

Nos principaux etablissemens sont le College de Quebec. ou jl y a 18 Religieux, C'est la ou se retirent ceux que les rudes fatigues de ces missions ont mis hors de seruice

La Residance de montreal ou jl y a quatre Religieux,

La mission des jroquois du sault proche montreal ou jl y a quatre peres

Celle de S^{t}. François de salle composéé d'abnaquis, de loups et de sokokis ou jl y a 2 prestres missionnaires jesuites

La mission des abnaquis de lacadie pres des Anglois ou jl y a trois peres missionnaires, Dans les missions des outaois, jslinois, miamis, scioux et autres nations jusqu'auant dans le mississipy jls sont onze prestres jesuites et quatre freres.

A la mission de laurette ou sont les restes de la nation huronne un prestre jesuite

De plus deux et quelques fois trois peres du College de Quebec partent le printemps pour les missions des Papinachois, de ta doussac, de Chikoutimy, des mistassins, et du lac S^{t}. Jean, et n'en reuiennent que bien auant dans l'automne et souuent mesme quelqu'un d'eux y passe aussy l'hyuer, fait a Quebec ce 4e. Octobre 1701 et en foy de ce que dessus nous signé la presente declaration comme tres veritable, ainsy signé martin bouuart recteur du College de quebec et superieur des missions de la Compagnie de Jesus dans la nouuelle france, françois Vallant et pierre Rafaix

nonobstant la mauuaise foy. En faut il dauantage pour donner
gain de cause aux Peres Jesuites. Aprez cela ils ne demandent
plus rien qu'a estre jugez par Messieurs les Arbitres selon
toutes nos loix.
Ils prient seulement Mons.r de vitré auantque de finir de faire
reflexion que cest a tort quil reproche au P. Rasseix quil a refusé
de tirer ses allignemens, luy S.r de vitré qui lhyuer passé ayant
donné un jour parolle de se trouuer le lendemain sur les lieux
pour tirer les allignemens en question, il ne s'y trouua pas, quoyque
le jour fust fort beau et que le P. Rasseix sur sa parolle s'y
fust transporté auec un Arpenteur et autres hommes necessaires
dont il a fallu payer les journées. Comment Mons.r de vitré
veut il quon appelle cela, luy qui se choque des termes de
mespris de negligence et dabandon de ses propres interests?

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Franc. Vaillant

FACSIMILE OF HANDWRITING OF FRANÇOIS VAILLANT DE GUÉLIS, S.J.

only a very moderate amount with which to provide for so many expenses; and, besides more than 6,000 livres that we actually owe, we have to pay annually an amortisable rent of 1,000 livres.

Our principal establishments are: the College of Quebec, where there are 18 Religious; It is to this place that those whom the severe fatigues of these missions have rendered unfit for service retire.

The Residence of montreal, where there are four Religious.

The mission of the iroquois of the sault, near montreal, where there are four fathers.

That of St. François de salle, composed of abnaquis, loups, and sokokis, where there are 2 priests, jesuit missionaries.

The mission of the abnaquis of acadia, near the English, where there are three missionary fathers. In the missions of the outaois, islinois, miamis, scioux, and other nations, to the frontier of the mississipy region, there are eleven jesuit priests and four brethren.

At the mission of laurette, where dwell the remnant of the huron nation, one jesuit priest.

Moreover, two and sometimes three fathers from the College of Quebec leave in the spring for the missions of the Papinachois, of tadoussac, of Chikoutimy, of the mistassins, and of lake St. John, and do not return until far into the autumn; and often some one of them even spends there the winter also. Done at Quebec, this 4th of October, 1701; and, in testimony of the above, we have signed the present declaration as exact and true. Signed, therefore, martin bouvart, rector of the College of quebec, and superior of the missions of the Society of Jesus in new france; françois Vallant, and pierre Rafaix.

Lettre du R. P. Étienne de Carheil à M. Louis Hector de Callières, gouverneur.

A Michilimakina
le 30 daoust 1702

MONSEIGNEUR

Si Jaurois pu Croire que ma descente la bas vous dut estre de quelque plus grande utilité que ne lont esté touttes les lettres que je vous ay Ecrites continuellement pendant quinze ans Entiers pour vous jnformer exactement, selon dieu, selon la Verité, selon ma Conscience de tout Ce qui etoit absolument necessaire pour lauancement de nos missions et pour le bien de la Colonie, je naurois pas manque de descendre et je me serois fait un devoir de vous aller expliquer de vive voix ce que Je naurois pas assez declaré par mes lettres: mais comme je nay rien omis de ce que je me Croyois obligé de vous faire Connoitre, et que je ne vois pas ce qui se pouvoit ajouter a tant de lettres, je suis entierement Conuaincu que ma descente ne pouvoit que vous estre jnutile apres touttes les Connoissances quelles vous ont données de letat ou nous auons esté jusques a present et ou nous sommes encore aujourdhuy.

Mais quand Je ne vous aurois Jamais rien Ecrit Jl ne faut quavoir veu tout Ce que se voit tous les jours a Montreal, et Ce que vous navez veu que trop souuent vous meme pour emporter auec vous en france, de quoy Informer sa majesté et lobliger a secourir

Letter by Reverend Father Étienne de Carheil to Monsieur Louis Hector de Callières, governor.

At Michilimakina,
the 30th of august, 1702.

MONSEIGNEUR,

Could I have Believed that my going down below would have been of any greater use to you than have been all the letters that I have Written to you continually, during fifteen Entire years,—for the purpose of informing you exactly, as in God's sight, according to Truth, according to my Conscience, of all That was absolutely necessary for the advancement of our missions and for the welfare of the Colony,—I would not have failed to go down; and I would have made it my duty to go to explain to you verbally what I might not have sufficiently made known in my letters. But, as I have omitted nothing that I Considered myself obliged to let you Know, and as I do not see what could have been added to so many letters, I am fully Convinced that my going down could only have been useless to you, after all the Information that has been conveyed to you respecting the condition in which we have been up to the present, and in which we still are to-day.

But, even if I had Never Written to you, It was only necessary to have seen all That is to be seen every day at Montreal, and That you yourself have only too often seen, to enable you to carry back to france enough to give Information to his majesty,

nos missions qui sont reduites a une telle extremité, que nous ne pouuons plus les soutenir contre une multitude jnfinie de desordres de brutalitéz, de violences, djnjustices, djmpietez, djmpudicitéz djnsolences, de mepris, djnsultes que ljnfame et funeste traitte deau de vie y cause vniversellement dans touttes les nations djcy haut ou lon vient la faire allant de villages en villages, et courant les lacs avec une quantité prodigieuse de barils, sans garder aucune mesure; si sa majesté avoit veu une seule fois Ce qui se passe et jcy et a montreal dans tous les temps quon y fait Cette malheureuse traitte, Je suis seur qu'elle ne balanceroit pas un moment des la premiere veue a la deffendre pour jamais sous les plus vigoureuses peines

Dans le desespoir ou nous sommes jl ne nous reste point de party a prendre que celuy de quitter nos missions et de les abandonner aux traitteurs deau de vie, pour y etablir le domaine de leur traitte, de lyurognerie et de ljmpureté, Cest Ce que nous allons proposer a nos Superieurs en Canada et en france, y etant Contraints par letat djnutilité et djmpuissance de f^re^. aucun fruit ou lon nous a reduits par la permission de Cette deplorable traitte, permission que lon na obtenue de sa majesté que sous un pretexte aparent de Raisons que lon scait estre fausses, permission q^le^. n'acorderoit point, si Ceux ausq^ls^. elle se raporte de la verité, la luy fesoient Connoitre, Comme jls la Connoissent eux memes et tout le Canada auec eux, permission enfin qui est le plus grand mal, et le principe de tous les maux qui arivent presentement au pays, et surtout des naufrages dont on nentendoit point parler auant elle, et

and to constrain him to succor our missions. These are reduced to such an extremity that we can no longer maintain them against an infinite multitude of evil acts — acts of brutality and violence; of injustice and impiety; of lewd and shameless conduct; of contempt and insults. To such acts the infamous and baleful trade in brandy gives rise everywhere, among all the nations up here, — where it is carried on by going from village to village, and by roving over the lakes with a prodigious quantity of brandy in barrels, without any restraint. Had his majesty but once seen What passes, both here and at montreal, during the whole time while This wretched traffic goes on, I am sure that he would not for a moment hesitate, at the very first sight of it, to forbid it forever under the severest penalties.

In our despair there is no other step to take than to leave our missions and abandon them to the brandy traders, so that they may establish therein the domain of their trade, of drunkenness, and of immorality. That is What we shall propose to our Superiors in Canada and in france, being Compelled thereto by the state of uselessness and inability to which we have been reduced by the permission given to carry on That deplorable trade — a permission that has been obtained from his majesty only by means of a pretext apparently Reasonable, but known to be false; a permission that he would not grant if They upon whom he relies for ascertaining the truth really made it Known to him As they themselves, and the whole of Canada with them, Know it; a permission, in fine, that is at once the climax and the source of all the evils that are now occurring in the country. Especially does it cause the wrecks, of which we

que nous aprenons maintenant ariver presque touttes les années ou dans la Venue ou dans le retour de nos Vaisseaux en france par une juste punition de Dieu qui fait perir par leau ce qu'on avoit mal acquis par leau de vie, ou qui dussent empecher le transport pour prevenir le mauvais usage quon en feroit. si Cette permission nest revoquée par une defense Contraire, nous navons plus que faire de demeurer dans aucune de nos missions djcy haut pour y perdre le reste de notre vie et touttes nos peines dans une pure jnutilité sous lempire dune Continuelle yvrognerie et dune jmpureté universelle quon ne permet pas moins aux traitteurs deau de vie que la traitte meme dont elle est et l accompagnement et la suitte

si sa majesté veut sauuer nos missions et soutenir lEtablissement de la Religion comme nous ne Doutons point quelle ne le veille, nous la suplions tres humblement de Croire Ce qui est tres veritable qujl ny a point d'autre moyen de le pouuoir faire que dabolir entierement les deux Infames Comerces qui les ont reduites a la necessité prochaine de perir, et qui ne tarderont pas a acheuer de les perdre s'jls ne sont au plustost abolis par ses ordres, et mis hors detat detre retablis, le premier est le Comerce de leau de vie, le second est le Comerce des femmes sauuages avec les francois, qui sont tous deux aussy publicqs lun que lautre, sans que nous puissions y remedier pour netre pas appuyez des Comandants, qui bien loin de les vouloir empecher sur les remontrances que nous leur ferons, les exercent eux memes auec plus de liberté que leurs Inferieurs, et les autorisent tellement par leur exemple, qu'en le regardant ou sen fait une permission generale, et une

never heard before it was given, but which we now hear of as occurring almost every year — while the Ships are either Coming from or returning to france. This results from a just punishment by God, who causes the destruction by water of what had been wickedly gained by brandy; and these wrecks should have prevented the transportation of the liquor, in order to avoid the evil use that would be made of it. If That permission be not revoked by a prohibition to the Contrary, we no longer have occasion to remain in any of our missions up here, to waste the remainder of our lives and all our efforts in purely useless labor, under the dominion of Continual drunkenness and of universal immorality — which are no less permitted to the traders in brandy than is the trade itself, of which they are both the accompaniment and the sequel.

If his majesty desire to save our missions and to support the Establishment of Religion, as we have no Doubt he does, we beg him most humbly to Believe What is most true, namely: that there is no other means of doing so than to abolish completely the two Infamous sorts of Commerce which have brought the missions to the brink of destruction, and which will not long delay in destroying these if they be not abolished as soon as possible by his orders, and be prevented from ever being restored. The first is the Commerce in brandy; the second is the Commerce of the savage women with the french. Both are carried on in an equally public manner, without our being able to remedy the evil, because we are not supported by the Commandants. They — far from attempting, when we undertake to remonstrate with them, to check these trades — themselves carry them on with greater freedom than do their

assurance d'jmpunité, qui les rend Communs a tout Ce qui vient jcy de francois en traitte; de sorte que tous les vilages de nos sauuages ne sont plus que des Cabarets pour lyvrognerie et que des sodomes pour ljmpureté, d'ou jl faut que nous nous retirions en les abandonnant a la juste Colere de Dieu et a ses vengeances.

Vous voyez par la que de quelque maniere quon Etablisse le Comerce francois auec nos sauuages, si lon veut nous retenir encore parmy eux, nous y conseruer et nous y soutenir en qualité de miss^res^. dans le libre Exercice de nos fonctions auec esperance d'y faire du fruit, Il faut nous deliurer des Comandans, et de leurs garnisons, qui bien loin detre necess^res^. sont au contraire si pernicieuses que nous pouuons dire auec verité quelles sont le plus grand mal de nos missions, ne seruant qua nuire et a la traitte ord^re^. des voyageurs et a lavancem^t^ de la foy. depuis quelles sont venues jcy haut nous ny auons plus veu quune Coruption universelle quelles ont repandue par leur vie scandaleuse dans tous les esprits de Ces nations qui en sont presentement jnfectées, tout le seruice pretendu quon veut f^re^. acroire quelles Rendent au Roy se reduit a 4 principales ocupãons dont nous vous prions jnstament de bien Jnformer Sa maj^té^.

La premiere est de tenir un Cabaret public deau de vie ou jls la traittent Continuellement aux sauuages qui ne Cessent point de senyurer, quelques opositions que nous y puissions faire. Cest en vain que nous leur parlons pour les areter, nous ny gagnons rien que detre acusez de nous oposer nous

Subordinates; and so sanction them by their example that, on witnessing it, a general permission and an assurance of impunity are assumed, that cause them to become Common to all the french who come here to trade. So much is this the case that all the villages of our savages are now only Taverns, as regards drunkenness; and sodoms, as regards immorality— from which we must withdraw, and which we must abandon to the just Anger and vengeance of God.

You see by this that, in whatever manner the french Trade is Established among our savages, if it be desired to still retain us among them, and to keep and support us there in the capacity of missionaries,— in the free Exercise of our functions, with the hope of obtaining some result,— we must be delivered from the Commandants and from their garrisons. These, far from being necessary, are, on the contrary, so pernicious that we can truly say that they are the greatest scourge of our missions; for they serve but to injure both the ordinary trade of the voyageurs and the advancement of the faith. Since they have come up here we have observed but one universal Corruption, which by their scandalous mode of living they have spread in the minds of all These nations, who are now infected by it. All the pretended service which it is sought to make people believe that they Render to the King is reduced to 4 chief occupations, of which we earnestly beg you to Inform His majesty.

The first consists in keeping a public Tavern for the sale of brandy, wherein they trade it Continually to the savages, who do not Cease to become intoxicated, notwithstanding all our efforts to prevent it. In vain do we speak to them, to try to stop them;

memes au seruice du Roy en voulant empecher une traitte qujl leur a permise.

La seconde ocupation des soldats est detre envoyez dun poste a lautre par les Comandants pour y porter leurs marchandises et leur eau de vie apres setre acomodez ensemble, sans que les uns et les autres ayent d'autre soin que Celuy de sentr'ayder mutuellement dans leur Comerce, et afin que Cela sexecute plus facilem[t] des deux Costez comme jls le souhaitent, Jl faut que les Comandans se ferment les yeux pour user de Connivence et ne voir aucun des Desordres de leurs soldats quelques visibles publics et scandaleux qu'jls soient, et jl faut reciproquem[t]. que les soldats, outre qujls traittent leurs propres marchandises, se fassent encore les traiteurs de Celles de leurs Comandans, qui souuent meme les obligent d'en acheter deux pour leur permettre daller ou jls veulent

Leur troisiême ocupation est de faire de leur fort un lieu que j'ay honte d'apeler par son propre nom, ou les femmes ont apris que leurs corps pouuoient tenir lieu de marchandises, et q[ls]. y seroient encore mieux receus que le Castor, de sorte que cest la presentement le Comerce le plus ord[re]. le plus Continuel, et le plus en vogue quelques efforts que puissent faire tous les missionnaires pour le denier et pour l'abolir, au lieu de diminuer jl s'augmente et se multiplie tous les jours de plus en plus; tous les soldats tiennent table ouuerte a touttes les femmes de leur connoissance dans leur maison: depuis le matin jusques au soir, elles y passent les Journées entieres les unes apres les autres assises a leur feu et souuent sur leur lit dans des entretiens et des

we gain nothing but the accusation of opposing the King's service, by endeavoring to prevent a trade that he has permitted.

The second occupation of the soldiers consists in being sent from one post to another by the Commandants in order to carry their wares and their brandy thither, after having made arrangements together; and none of them have any other object than That of mutually assisting one another in their Traffic. And, in order that This may be more easily done on both Sides according to their wishes, the Commandants must close their eyes, that they may be able to Connive at and not observe the Misconduct of their soldiers,—however visible, public, and scandalous it may be; the soldiers must, in turn, besides trafficking in their own wares, become traffickers in Those of their Commandants, who frequently compel the soldiers to buy merchandise from them, in order to gain permission to go where they please.

Their third occupation consists in making of their fort a place that I am ashamed to call by its proper name, where the women have found out that their bodies might serve in lieu of merchandise and would be still better received than Beaver-skins; accordingly, that is now the most usual and most Continual Commerce, and that which is most extensively carried on. Whatever efforts the missionaries may make to denounce and abolish it, this traffic increases, instead of diminishing, and grows daily more and more. All the soldiers keep open house in their dwellings for all the women of their acquaintance. From morning to night, they pass entire Days there, one after another—sitting by their fire, and often on their beds, engaged in conversations and actions

actions propres de leur comerce qui ne sacheve ordinairement que la nuit la foule etant trop grande pendant la journée pour qujls puissent lachever, quoyque souuent aussy jls sentrelaissent une maison vuide de monde pour nen pas differer lachevement jusques a la nuit.

La 4e ocupation des soldats est Celle du jeu qui dans les temps ou les traiteurs se rasemblent, jl y va quelques fois a un tel excez que n'etans pas contens dy passer le jour, jls y passent encore la nuit entiere, et il narive meme que trop souuent dans lardeur de leur aplication qujls ne se souuiennent pas, ou s'jls sen souuiennent qujls meprisent de garder les festes; mais Ce qui augmente en Cela leur desordre, Cest quun atachement si opiniatre au jeu nest presque jamais sans une Jvrognerie comune de tous les joueurs, et que lyurognerie est presque toujours suivie de querelles qui sexcitent entreux, lesquelles venant a paroitre publiquement aux yeux des sauuages Causent parmy eux trois grands scandales, le p^{er}. de les voir yures; le second de les voir sentrebatre auec fureur les uns contre les autres jusqua prendre les fusils en main pour sentretuer, le troisieme de voir que les missionnaires ny peuuent aporter aucun Remede

Voila m^{gr} les 4 seules ocupations des garnisons que lon a tenuees jcy pendant tant d'années, si Ces sortes d'occupations peuuent sapeller service du roy, j auoue quelles luy ont toujours actuellement rendu quelquun de Ces quatre seruices; mais je n'en ay point veu dautres que Ces quatre la; et par consequent si on ne juge pas que Ce soit la des services necess^{res}. au Roy, jl ny a point eu Jusques a present de necessité

proper to their commerce. This generally ends only at night, because the crowd is too great during the day to allow of their concluding it then — although they frequently arrange among themselves to leave a house empty, so as not to defer the conclusion until night.

The 4th occupation of the soldiers is gambling, which at the times when the traders assemble sometimes proceeds to such excess that they are not satisfied with passing the whole day, but they also spend the whole night in this pursuit. And it happens but too frequently that, in the ardor of their game, they forget — or, if they do remember, they scorn to observe — the feast-days. But What makes their misconduct on This score still worse is, that so persistent an attachment to the game is hardly ever unaccompanied by the general Intoxication of all the players; and drunkenness is nearly always followed by quarrels that arise among them. When these occur publicly before the eyes of the savages, they Give rise to three grave scandals: the first at seeing them intoxicated; the second, at witnessing them fighting furiously with one another, — sometimes to the extent of seizing their guns in order to kill each other; the third, at observing that the missionaries cannot Remedy these evils.

Such, monseigneur, are the 4 sole occupations of the garrisons, which they have followed here during so many years. If occupations of This kind can be called the king's service, I admit that they have always actually rendered him one of Those four services. But I have observed none other than Those four; and consequently, if such services be not considered necessary to the King, there has never been Hitherto any necessity for keeping them here; and,

de les tenir jcy, et apres leur rapel jl ny en a point de les retablir. cependant Comme Cette necessité pretendue des garnisons est lunique pretexte que lon prend pour y envoyer des commandants, nous vous prions Monseig^r. detre bien persuadé de la fausseté de Ce pretexte, afin que sous Ces specieuses aparences du seruice du Roy on ne se fasse pas une obligation den Enuoyer, puisquen effet, les Comandants ne viennent jcy que pour y faire la traitte de Concert auec leurs soldats sans se mettre en peine de tout le Reste, Ils nont de liaison auec les missionnaires que par les Endroits ou jls se les Croyent utiles pour leurs temporel, et hors de la jls leur sont contraires des qujls veulent soposer au desordre qui ne s acordant ny avec le seruice de dieu ny auec le seruice du Roy, ne laisse pas detre auantageux a leur comerce auquel jl nest rien qujls ne sacrifient. Cest la lunique Cause qui a mis le dereglement dans nos missions et qui les a tellement desolées par lascendant que les Comandants ont pris sur les miss^rs. en sattirant toutte lautorité soit a legard des francois soit a legard des sauuages, que nous n auons plus dautre pouuoir que Celuy d'y trauailler jnutilement sous leur domination qui s'est Eleué jusqua nous faire des crimes Civils et des accusations pretendues juridiques des propres fonctions de notre Etat et de notre deuoir Comme la toujours fait M^r. de la Motte qui ne vouloit pas meme que nous nous seruissions du mot de Desordres, et qui jntenta en effet procez au pere prieur pour sen estre servi!

Auant qujl y eut jcy des Comandans les missionnaires Etoient Ecoutez des traitteurs parcequ'alors jls aprehendoient de leur donner ocasion de faire des

after they are recalled, there is no necessity of sending any back. However, As This pretended need of garrisons is the sole pretext that is made use of to send commandants here, we beg you, Monseigneur, to be fully convinced of the falseness of That pretext, so that under Those specious appearances of the King's service it may not be considered obligatory to Send us any garrisons. For, in reality, the Commandants come here solely for the purpose of trading, in Concert with their soldiers, without troubling themselves about anything Else. They have no intercourse with the missionaries, except with regard to Matters wherein they Consider the latter useful for the furtherance of their own temporal affairs; and beyond that they are hostile to the fathers as soon as these undertake to oppose the misconduct which, being in accord neither with the service of God nor with the service of the King, is nevertheless advantageous to the trade of the Commandants, who sacrifice everything to it. That is the sole Cause of the disorder in our missions, which has so desolated them — through the ascendancy that the Commandants have obtained over the missionaries, by assuming all authority over both the french and the savages — that we now have no other power than That of laboring in vain under their domination. This has Gone so far as to make Civil crimes, and grounds for pretended juridical accusations, out of the performance of the very functions of our Ministry and of our duty. This was always done by Monsieur de la Motte, who would not even allow us to use the word "Misconduct," and who even brought a suit against the father prior for having used it![36]

Before there were any Commandants here, the

plaintes touchant leur Conduite, qui obligeassent les puissances de les rapeler et de ne leur plus acorder de Congez. Mais depuis qu'on a Envoyé des commandants tout Ce qujl y a de desordres necess^{res}. pour f^{re}. la traitte telle quon la veut, ne passe plus pour desordre, et jl ny a plus de plaintes a en faire par la raison que ce sont leurs meilleurs moyens pour la fin qujls pretendent et qujls sont tous Egalement daccord en Cela. les Comandants ne se plaignent pas des traitteurs quoyqujls fassent parcequjls les engagent presque tous a les ayder dans leur traitte, et les traitteurs assurez q^{ls}. sont par Ces Engagem^{ts}. quon ne se plaindra pas deux et qu au Contraire on se fera un jnteret de les Soutenir, se donnent touttes sortes de Libertez sans rien Craindre du Costé des Mission^{res}. et bien loin den rien Craindre jl ariue mesme que les Comandans et tous les traitteurs conspirent ensem^{e} dun Comun Concert a se plaindre des mission^{res}. aupres des puissances superieures et a les denier le plus q^{ls}. peuuent pour les rendre odieux a tout le public, esperant dempecher par la que les acusãons qujls pouroient former de leurs dereglemens ne soient Ecoutées. Et en effet elles ne le sont point, les miss^{res}. se trouuent reduits au Silence, a lynaction, a ljmpuissance et a une privation generale de toutte autorité

Que si quelques fois les Comandans sont obligez de f^{re}. En de Certaines rencontres quelque chose de Contraire aux libertez ordinaires du Comerce des voyageurs alors ces off^{ers} pour detourner la haine et lalienation des esprits que Ces obligaons leur pouroient Causer, et pour s'en decharger sur les missionnaires usent dune adresse, dont nous neussions jamais

missionaries Were always Listened to by the traders because they were afraid to give them any grounds for making complaints respecting their Conduct, which might compel the authorities to recall them, and to refuse to grant them any further Permission. But, since the commandants have been Sent here, all the misconduct that is needed for carrying on the trade, as these men wish to carry it on, no longer passes for misconduct; and no complaints can be made of it, because it is the best means toward the end that they have in view, and because they are all Equally in accord on That point. The Commandants do not complain of the traders, whatever they may do, because they engage nearly all of them to assist them in their trade; and as the traders are sure, on account of Such Engagements, that no complaints will be made against them, and that, on the Contrary, the Commandants will make it their interest to Support them, they take every kind of Liberty, without having any Fear of the Missionaries. Far from Fearing them, it sometimes happens even that the Commandants and all the traders conspire together, with a Common Accord, to complain of the missionaries to the higher authorities, and to denounce them as much as possible, so as to make them odious to all the people,— hoping that thereby the charges that the missionaries might bring against their misconduct will not be Listened to. And in fact they are not; the missionaries are reduced to Silence, to inaction, to impotence, and to general deprivation of all authority.

And if, On Some occasions, the Commandants are obliged to do something Contrary to the usual freedom of the voyageurs' Trade, then those officers — to

eu le moindre soubcon, si quelques uns qui le scavoient auec assurance neussent bien voulu nous en auertir. Ce qujls font donc dans Ces occasions Cest q^ls^. affectent de nous venir voir plus souvent qua lord^re^. qujls nous parlent, qujls nous entretiennent et nous proposent Ce qujls doivent faire Comme s'jls auoient besoin sur Cela de nos auis et ensuitte sous Ces aparences de visites dentretient et de Consultations jls donnent a entendre aux traitteurs que Cest par nos remontrances et nos sollicitations qujls sont Contraints dagir de la sorte malgré qujls [en] ayent, n'est ce pas la une Etrange conduite pour des Commandans contre des personnes de notre Caractere qujls deuroient soutenir dans leur employ, et apuyer de leur autorité.

Jl est encore jmportant de vous avertir dun abus que les Comandans ont jntroduit a legard des sauuages, et qui na eu que de mauuais effets, Cest que netant pas Contens du gain Continuel qujls font par la traitte, Jls ont encore trouué le moyen de persuader a la Cour qujl falloit leur fournir un fond considerable pour faire des presens aux sauuages soit afin de les engager dans nos jnterets dans nos desseins, et dans nos entreprises, soit afin de les recompenser quand jls auroient rendu des seruices qui seroient jugez en etre dignes. Voila a la verité un beau pretexte qui a je ne scais quoy de fort plausible dans Ses aparences, mais jl est Certain qujl ny a jamais eu rien de moins necess^re^. a legard des sauuages que de prendre la Voye des presens pour les faire agir, Cest a quoy jls ne pensoient point, et a quoy on nauroit Jamais deu penser non plus qu'eux.

divert the hatred and estrangement of minds to which Such obligations might Give rise, and to remove the odium thereof from themselves to the missionaries — display a certain cleverness, of which we would never have had the slightest suspicion had not some persons who are well aware of it informed us thereof. What they do on Such occasions is to affect to come to see us more frequently than usual; to speak to us; to converse with us, and submit to us What they should do, As if they needed our advice on the Subject; and afterward — through Those appearances of visits, conversations, and Consultations, — they make the traders believe that It is owing to our remonstrances and solicitations that they are Compelled to act in that manner, although they would prefer not to do so. Is not this Strange conduct for Commandants toward persons of our Character, whom they should sustain in their duty and support with their authority?

It is also important that you should be informed of an abuse that the Commandants have introduced with respect to the savages, which has produced among them only bad results. It is this, that — not Content with the Constant profit which they derive from the trade — They have found means to convince the Court that it is necessary to supply them with considerable funds for the purpose of making presents to the savages — either to interest them in our concerns, our designs, and our undertakings, or to reward them when they render services that may be deemed worthy of recompense. This is truly a fine pretext, which has something very plausible in appearance; but it is Certain that never was anything less needed with regard to the savages than to have

Jls agisoient auparauant deux memes par un mouuement purement volontaire, ou tout au plus par lynvitation de quelq^{e}. Branche de porcelaine ou de quelque collier quon leur presentoit sans qujls eussent dautre jdeé que celle la qui leur etoit propre et selon leur Coutume. Jl ne falloit rien daventage pour leur f^{re}. f^{re}. Ce quon vouloit que de se servir de leurs manieres, mais le desir dauoir un fond quon put menager Comme ou voudroit avec des Epargnes dun grand profit, ayant porté a persuader a la Cour qujl Etoit necessaire que les Comandans eussent de quoy leur f^{re}. des presens, tout leffet que Cela a produit du Costé des sauuages Cest de leur aprendre a estre difficiles a se f^{re}. prier, a contraindre dacheter touttes leurs actions et tous leurs mouuemens a force de presens, et enfin a ne rien acorder de ce qujls deuvoient faire volontairement qua ce quon leur donne et qujls exigent

Mais Ce qujl y a de plus facheux dans Cette Conduitte Cest q^{le}. ne leur a pas seulement apris a ne vouloir presque Jamais rien faire de ce quon veut deux, a moins dun present qui les y determine, elle leur a encore outre Cela apris a user dune jnfinité dadresses, de feintes, et djntrigues entreux a jmaginer mille desseins dentreprises pretendues, de mouuemens de guerre, de ruptures de paix, dembassades Chez les ennemis et de negotiations auec eux, de liaisons de Comerce auec langlois et aux Choses de Cette nature dont jls font semblant davoir resolu lexecution pour engager par la les Comandans a se Croire obligez de les areter par des presens, voila leffet que Cette nouvelle Coutume a produit dans

Recourse to presents to induce them to act. That is what they Never thought of, and which no one should have thought of any more than they did. Formerly they acted of their own accord, from a purely voluntary impulse — or, at most, on the invitation conveyed by means of a Branch of porcelain, or of a collar that was presented to them,— without their having any other idea than what was natural to them, and in accordance with their Customs. Nothing further was needed to make them do What we wished, than to follow their ways. But the desire of having a fund that could be disposed of As one wished, with the Savings of a great profit obtained, has led to an attempt being made to persuade the Court that it Was necessary that the Commandants should have the wherewithal to give presents to the savages. The sole effect which This has produced upon the savages has been, to teach them to be exacting in requiring that they be solicited; to make it necessary that all their actions and all their emotions be purchased by dint of presents; and, finally, that they do nothing that they should do voluntarily, except in return for something which is given them and which they exact.

But the most vexatious part of Such Conduct is that not only has it taught them to be hardly Ever willing to do anything that is asked of them without a present to induce them, but it has also taught them to make use of an infinite number of ruses, of stratagems, and of intrigues among themselves; to imagine a thousand projects of pretended undertakings, of warlike movements, of ruptures of peace, of embassies To the enemies, and negotiations with them; of Commercial intercourse with the english,

lesprit des sauuages, de sorte qujls nont plus aujourdhuy dautre Exercice ny dautre ocupation aupres des Comandans que celle de sentr'ayder les uns les autres a les tromper et a se jouer d'eux en se fesant donner des presens sous tous les faux pretextes que je viens de Dire.

Mais auec tout Cela quelques presens quon leur fasse Ce n'est presque rien du Comparaison du fond que la Cour fournit aux Comandans pour un tel Usage, les presens quon leur fait se Reduisent presque tous a la seule depense du tabac qui est la plus ord^re^. parceque les sauuages l'ayment auec passion et ne peuuent se passer de fumer continuellement tant jls y sont accoutumez de leur jeunesse, Cependant jl sen faut beaucoup que Ce quon leur en donne sucessivement et peu a peu dans les occasions quon Croit necess^res^. ne monte a une telle somme que Ce qui reste du fond ne soit de beaucoup plus grand et plus Considerable; Il est fort a Craindre que les Comandans ne s en acomodent, et que par des Epargnes bien menagées Jls nen reseruent la meilleure partie pour leurs propres Usages. C est pourtant sur quoy nous n'avons rien a voir ny a dire; C'est a ceux qui sont Etablis pour cela d'y prendre garde et dempesher par leur vigilance touttes les fraudes qui sy pouroient faire et de ne pas souffrir que sous pretexte dune fausse necessité lon engage le Roy a de grande depenses Jnutiles.

Jl faut ajouter a tout Ce que je viens de dire touchant les Commandans que Comme jl ny a point dautre necessité den envoyer jcy parmy nos sauuages que celle dy tenir des garnisons qui doivent estre

and Similar Matters. They pretend to have resolved upon the performance of these, in order thereby to lead the Commandants to Consider themselves obliged to buy them with gifts. Such are the effects that This new Custom has produced on the minds of the savages, so that at present their sole Business and occupation, as regards the Commandants, consists in helping each other to deceive and cheat the latter, by making them give them presents under the false pretenses that I have just Mentioned.

But with all This, all the presents that are given them are almost nothing in Comparison with the fund supplied by the Court to the Commandants for that Purpose. The gifts are Reduced almost entirely to the single expenditure of tobacco — which is the most usual present, because the savages are passionately fond of it, and cannot refrain from continually smoking, so greatly accustomed are they to it from their youth. However, what remains of the fund is much greater and more Considerable than the amount spent in giving them presents, successively and gradually, on the occasions when it is Deemed necessary; and It is greatly to be Feared that the Commandants turn it to their own benefit and that by careful Economy They keep the best part of it for their own Use. Still, this is a matter respecting which we have nothing to see or to say; It is for those who are Established here for that purpose to see to it, and to prevent by their vigilance all the frauds that might be committed in connection therewith, and not to allow the King to be put to great and Needless expense under any false pretense of necessity.

To all that I have just said respecting the Commandants, I must add that — As there is no other

Commandées par quelquun jl est entierement jnutile dy en Enuoyer parceque les garnisons y sont elles memes entierement jnutiles, si Ce nest a la traitte des Commandans et a leur propre traitte, elles ne sont utiles qua ces deux traittes pour tout le Reste elles ne seruent de rien ny aux sauuages ny aux voyageurs ausquels jl apartient de traitter, ny aux missionnaires. premierement elles ne seruent de rien aux sauuages pour leffet de la guerre soit dans leurs vilages soit hors de leurs Villages. dans les vilages elles ne Seruent de rien par la raison que la maniere Comune a tous Ces peuples barbares de se f^re^. la guerre nest pas Comme la notre daller attaquer les Vilages les uns des autres parcequjls ne veulent jamais sexposer au hazard de perdre du monde Ce qui est jnevitable dans Ces sortes dattaques; jls ne se font la guerre que par surprise, que par des Embuscades que par des aproches Cachées par des decharges subites et jmpreueues dans les Champs, dans les bois, a la peche a la chasse et par tout ailleurs ou jls sentredecouurent hors de leurs Vilages, de sorte que par Cette Raison les garnisons ne leur seruent de Rien pour les soutenir et elles leur seruent encore moins hors des vilages ou les garnisons non seulement ne doivent pas les suiure, mais ne le peuuent pas, netant point Capables des mouuemens qujls font dans les bois et dans touttes sortes de lieux jmpraticables a tous autres qua eux et aux betes, tant sen faut quelles pussent les y ayder, Jl faudroit au Contraire que les sauuages eux memes les aydassent a se tirer de lembaras ou elles se trouueroient dans des marshes Aussj difficiles que

necessity of sending any among the savages than that of keeping garrisons there, which must be Commanded by some one — it is perfectly useless to Send any; because the garrisons themselves are quite unnecessary, except for the trade of the Commandants and their own trade. They are necessary only for those two trades; as regards all the Rest, they are of no use either to the savages or to the voyageurs, to whom the trade belongs, or to the missionaries. In the first place, they are of no use to the savages as regards war, either in their villages or outside them: in the villages they are Useless, because the method common to all these barbarous nations of carrying on warfare does not consist, Like ours, in going to assault one another's Villages, because they will never expose themselves to the danger of losing men Which is unavoidable in Such assaults. They carry on war only by surprises, by Ambushes, by Secret approaches, and by sudden and unforeseen discharges in the Fields, in the woods, while fishing and hunting, and everywhere else when they can discover one another outside their Villages. So, for That Reason, the garrisons are Useless to them as support; and are still more so outside the villages — where the garrisons not only would not follow them, but cannot do so. For the soldiers are Unable to perform the movements that the savages perform in the woods, and in all sorts of places that are impracticable to all but themselves and the animals; and the soldiers are far from being able to assist them. On the Contrary, the savages themselves would have to help extricate them from the difficulties in which they would be placed on expeditions As difficult as Those through The Thick

le Sont Celles de Ces Epaisses forests, que lexercice de lart militaire ne leur a point apris ny pu aprendre, Jl est donc Evident que les garnisons ne seruent de Rien aux sauuages ny dans leurs vilages ny hors leurs vilages, elles leur sont entierem^{t} jnutiles pour leur Conseruation et pour leur deffense.

Que si elles sont jnutiles aux sauuages elles le sont bien d avantage aux voyageurs qui recoiuent des Congez pour venir jcy haut faire leur traitte et qui seuls ont droit de la faire a lexclusion de tous les aũ qui ny ont aucun droit, et qui ne sauroient la f^{re} sans Jnjustice; Cest pourtant la lunique ocupãon de touttes les garnisons, Cest leur unique employ qui nest pas seulem^{t}. Jnutile aux voyageurs, mais qui leur est extremement nuisible et qui leur fait tort dautant de Castor et dau. pelleteries q^{ls}. en amassent. Enfin les garnisons ne sont pas plus Utiles aux miss^{res} quaux sauuages et quaux voyageurs. Jl seroit du deuoir du Comandant de sen seruir pour les mission^{res}. en diverses occasions ou jl sont souuent obligez de les aller prier de vouloir bien reprimer les desordres et les Jnsolences publiques des traitteurs deau de vie et des voyageurs fugitifs qui vont dune mission a l'autre enyurer les sauuages et debaucher les femmes dans touttes les Cabanes ou jls vont loger, ou jls vont les visiter, les entretenir, les Caresser, les solliciter, et acheter la jouiss^{ce}. de leur Corps, toutte la reponse que nous receuons des Comandans a ces sortes de prieres, Cest qujls nont pas de monde pour le pouuoir faire, soit parceque les garnisons ne sont pas assez nombreuses, soit parcequencore bien quelles le fussent beaucoup dauantage elles ne leur seroient pas pour Cela dun plus grand secours parce-

forests, which the practice of military art has never allowed them to learn. It is therefore Evident that the garrisons are of No use to the savages either within or without their villages; they are entirely useless for their Preservation or their defense.

Now if they be useless to the savages, they are still more so to the voyageurs who obtain Permission to come up here to trade, and who alone are entitled to do so, to the exclusion of all the others — who have no right to it, and who cannot trade without doing the voyageurs an Injustice. And yet such is the sole occupation of all the garrisons; Such is their unique employment — which is not only Unnecessary for the voyageurs, but is exceedingly hurtful to them, and does them damage to the extent of all the Beaver-skins and other furs that the soldiers collect. Finally, the garrisons are no more Useful to the missionaries than to the savages and the voyageurs. It should be the duty of the Commandant to employ them in behalf of the missionaries, on various occasions when the latter are frequently obliged to go to beg the officials to be pleased to repress the misconduct and public acts of Insolence of the dealers in brandy, and of the fugitive voyageurs — who go from one mission to another, making the savages drunk and seducing the women in all the Cabins where they lodge; or they go to visit them, entertain them, Caress them, solicit them, and purchase the enjoyment of their Bodies. The only answer to these prayers that we get from the Commandants is, that they have not enough men to allow of their doing so,— either because the garrisons are not sufficiently numerous; or, even if they were larger, they would not be of much more help to the

que les voyageurs et les garnisons sont djntelligence pour sentresoutenir contre les missionnaires et dans des desordres qui leur sont Communs, et pour Eluder tous les ordres que les Comandans leur pouuoient donner. Sjls vouloient prendre le party des Missionn^{res}., mais Jls ne le veulent pas ne pensant eux memes qua sacomoder auec les Uns et les autres pour la traitte; depuis que sa Maj^{te}. a voulu que les Voyageurs et les Coureurs de bois fussent Rapelez et que pour faciliter leur retour elle leur a acordé lamnistie, Ce Rapel nayant pas plu a tout le monde, plus^{res}. personnes dautorité qui entretenoient jcy haut diverses Corespondances de traitte nont pas laissé de le Continuer envoyant secretement touttes les annéés a leurs Corespondans fugitifs de quoy f^{re}. une nouuelle traitte, et Ce qui est de plus surprenant Cest que Ceux meme quon enuoyoit sous pretexte de Venir aporter lamnistie ny venoient en effet que p^{r}. traitter pendant tous le temps la qujls prolongeoient a dessein le plus qujls pouuoient pour le mieux faire en debitant touttes leurs denrées a ceux qujls venoient rapeler, et ausq^{ls}. par une Conduitte toutte oposée a leur deuoir jls fournissoient de quoy recomencer la traitte a leur profit, Cest ainsy que depuis tant danneés on demande toujours de nouuelles amnisties parcequon rend toujours les precedentes Jnutiles de la maniere que Je viens de Dire

Vous voyez Mg^{r}. que Je me suis beaucoup Etendu sur les articles des Comandans et des Garnisons pour vous f^{re}. Comprendre que Cest de la quest venu tout le malheur de nos missions, Ce sont les Comandans, Ce sont les Garnisons qui se joignant avec tous les traiteurs deau de vie, les ont entierem^{t} desolées par

Commandants, because the voyageurs and the garrisons have an understanding together, to support one another against the missionaries both in their Common misconduct, and in Evading all the orders that the Commandants might give them, should the latter choose to take the Missionaries' part. But They do not choose to do so; and they themselves think of nothing but accommodating One another with regard to the trade. Since his Majesty has ordered that the Voyageurs and the Coureurs de bois be Recalled, and has granted them an amnesty to facilitate their return, That Recall has not pleased every one. Several persons in authority who maintained various trading Relations here, have not ceased to Continue the same by secretly sending every year to their fugitive Agents supplies for carrying on a new trade. But what is more surprising is, that Those very persons who were sent here under pretense of Coming to bring the amnesty came, in reality, solely to trade during the whole of That time — which they designedly prolonged as much as they could, the better to carry out their object by selling all their wares to those whom they came to recall; and to whom, by a Conduct entirely opposed to their duty, they supplied the means of carrying on the trade once more for their own benefit. That is why for so many years new amnesties are ever being asked for, because the previous ones are always rendered Useless in the manner that I have just Described.[87]

You see, Monseigneur, that I have Dwelt to a great extent on the subject of Commandants and Garrisons, to make you Understand that all the misfortunes of our missions are due to them. It is the Commandants, It is the Garrisons, who, uniting

lyvrognerie et par une Jmpudicité presque universelles que lon y a Etablies par une Continuelle jmpunité de lune et de lautre, que les puissances Ciuiles ne tolerent pas seulem^t^. mais quelles permettent, puisque les pouuant Empecher elles ne les empecherent pas. Je ne Crains donc point de vous declarer que si lon remet jcy haut dans nos missions des Comandans traiteurs et des garnisons de soldats traitteurs, nous ne doutons point que nous ne soyons Contraintes de les quitter ny pouuant rien faire pour le salut des ames. Cest a vous dynformer sa Maj^té^. de lextremité ou lon nous a reduits, et de luy demander pour nous notre deliurance afin que nous puissions travailler a letablissement de la religion sans les Empechemens, qui lont areté Jusqua present

Que si touchée des remontrances que vous luy ferez elle prenoit le party de ne plus envoyer jcy haut de garnisons et de Comandans, et quelle voulut ensuitte Sauoir ce qui seroit le plus auantageux a nos missions et a la colonie, vous demandez que nous vous declarions la-dessus nos sentimens, que nous vous disions sjl voudroit mieux retablir les 25 Congez, ou Etablir des postes que la Compag^e^. entretiendroit elle meme par autant de personnes quelle Jugeroit necess^res^. quelle Choisiroit et quelle envoyeroit y f^re^. son Comerce. Je vous diray donc premierem^t^. que votre demande supose ce qujl seroit a desirer de pouuoir ne point suposer, elle supose que la Colonie doit venir jcy haut faire son comerce parmy nos sauuages comme elle si est acoutumée depuis plus^rs^. années, mais jl seroit fort a souhaiter que Ce ne fut point la Colonie qui vint aux sauuages,

with the brandy traders, have completely desolated the missions by almost universal drunkenness and Lewdness — which have been Established therein through the Continual impunity for both vices; the Civil authorities not only tolerate but permit these, inasmuch as, while able to Prevent them, they do not. I have therefore no Hesitation in telling you that if trading Commandants and garrisons of trading soldiers be again stationed in our missions up here, we have no doubt that we shall be Compelled to abandon them, because we shall be unable to do anything for the salvation of souls. It is for you to inform his Majesty of the extremity to which we are reduced, and to ask him for our deliverance, so that we may be able to labor for the establishment of religion without the Hindrances that have Hitherto impeded it.

And if, touched by the remonstrances that you will convey to him, he should decide to send garrisons and Commandants up here no longer, and should afterward wish to Know what would be most advantageous for our missions and for the colony, you ask that we state our opinions to you; that we tell you whether it would be better to restore the 25 Permits, or to Establish posts which the Company itself would maintain by means of as many persons as it might Deem necessary, whom it would Select and send here to carry on its Trade.[38] I will tell you, in the first place, that your request takes for granted what would be very desirable not to suppose; it assumes that the Colony is to come up here to carry on its trade among our savages, as it has been accustomed to do for many years. But it would be very desirable that the Colony should not come to

et que Ce fut au Contraire les sauuages qui allassent a la Colonie et qui descendissent a Montreal p^r^. y f^re^. leur traitte comme jls ly fesoient au Comencem^t^. au grand profit de tout le peuple qui y participoit et a qui leur descente Epargnoit touttes les peines que lon prend presentem^t^. et tous les dangers ausq^ls^. la jeunesse sexpose pour Venir dans les diverses nations djcy haut.

de quelque maniere qu'on regarde le Comerce soit par raport a lynterest Commun du Canada, soit par raport a lauancem^t^. du Christianisme, Jl seroit Jnfinim^t^ plus auantageux p^r^. lun et p^r^. l'autre que les sauuages l'allassent f^re^. eux memes a montreal par une descente annuelle que denuoyer les francois jcy ly f^re^ de la facon qujls y viennent touttes les Années, Je ne Croy pas qujl soit necess^re^. d'en marquer les Raisons tant elles sont Evidentes Car Jl est visible quun tel ne sert qua depeupler le pays de toutte la jeunesse, qua affoiblir les maisons de monde, qua priuer les fe^s^. de leurs maris, les peres et les meres du secours de leurs enfans et les sœurs du secours de leurs freres. qua exposer Ceux qui font les voyages a mille dangers et du Corps et de lame, qua les engager a une jnfinité de depenses en partie necess^res^. en partie Jnutiles en partie Criminelles; qua les acoutumer a ne point travailler et ensuite a se degouter p^r^. toujours du travail et a vivre dans une Continuelle oisiveté qua les mettre dans lympuiss^ce^. daprendre aucun metier, qua les rendre par la Jnutiles a eux memes a leurs familles et a tout le public setant rendus jncapables des ocupãons les plus Comunes et les plus necess^res^. aux hommes; mais Ce nest pas seulem^t^. par ces Endroits la qui regardent

the savages; that, on the Contrary, the savages should go to the Colony, and go down to Montreal for their trade — as they did at the Beginning, with a great profit to all the people who participated in it, — whom their going down Saved from all the trouble that is taken at present, and from all the dangers to which the young men expose themselves in Coming to the various nations up here.

In whatever light we may consider the Commerce carried on, as regards either the Common interest of Canada, or the advancement of Christianity, It would be Infinitely more advantageous for both if the savages themselves went down annually for that purpose to montreal, than it would be to send the french here to trade, in the way in which they come every Year. I do not Consider it necessary to give the Reasons, so Manifest are they. For It is evident that the latter method serves but to depopulate the country of all its young men; to reduce the number of people in the houses; to deprive wives of their husbands, fathers and mothers of the aid of their children, and sisters of that of their brothers; to expose Those who undertake such journeys to a thousand dangers for both their Bodies and their souls. It also causes them to incur very many expenses, partly necessary, partly Useless, and partly Criminal; it accustoms them not to work, but to lose all taste for work, and to live in Continual idleness; it renders them incapable of learning any trade, and thereby makes them Useless to themselves, to their families, and to the entire country, through having made themselves unfit for the occupations that are most Common and most useful to man. But It is not only for these Reasons, which

le Corps cest beaucoup plus par Ceux qui regardent lame que Cet Envoy des francois parmy les sauuages doit paroitre leur etre Jnfinim^{t}. nuisible, Cest les Eloigner de tous les lieux sacrez cest les separer de touttes les personnes Ecclesiastiques et religieuses Cest les abandonner a une priuation generalle de touttes les Jnstructions soit publiques soit particulieres, de tous les Exercices de piété et enfin de touttes les assistances spirituelles du Cristianisme pour les enuoyer dans des pays sauuages et des lieux presque Ympracticables au trauers de mille dangers tantost par terre et tantost par eau y f^{re}. dune maniere basse seruile et honteuse un Comerce qui se feroit bien plus auantageusem^{t}. a montreal et ou le peuple y auroit beaucoup plus de part (comme jl le deuroit par justice) qujl ny en a, et qujl ny en aura tandis q^{l}. se fera jcy

Ce qui seroit donc le plus a souhaiter pour deliurer la Colonie de touttes Ces sortes de maux et du corps et de lame jnseparablement attachez au comerce djcy haut, qui a le bien prendre Cause plus de perte que de gain au pays parcequen moins temps qujl luy aquiert un peu de Castor jl le priue pour toujours du trauail de toutte la jeunesse en laccoutumant a ne pouuoir et a ne vouloir plus Jamais trauailler, Ce qui seroit dis je le plus a souhaiter, seroit darcher la jeunesse dans le pays, de ly fixer le plus quon pouroit, de luy conserver le fruit et la jouiss^{ce}. de son trauail par la raison quelle lenrichiroit plus par un trauail Constant et assidu que par lacquisition difficile, yncertaine et passagere dun peu de Castor, de sorte que le plus seur et le plus efficace de tous les moyens pour mettre la Colonie a son ayse seroit de luy pouuoir

affect this Life,—it is still more on account of Those which concern the soul, that This Sending of the french among the savages must appear Infinitely harmful to them. It Takes them away from all the holy places; it separates them from all Ecclesiastical and religious persons; It abandons them to a total deprivation of all Instruction, both public and private, of all devotional Exercises, and, finally, of all the spiritual aids to Christianity. It sends them into savage countries and into Impassable places,—through a thousand dangers, both on land and on water,—to carry on in a low, servile, and shameful manner a Commerce that could be carried on much more advantageously at montreal, where the people would have a much larger share in it (as in justice they should) than they have, and than they will have so long as it is carried on here.

Therefore, what would be most desirable for delivering the Colony from all Those kinds of evil, both of body and soul, that are inseparably connected with the trade up here,—which, if viewed in the proper light, Causes more loss than profit to the country, because, at the same time when it acquires some Beaver-skins for the Colony, it deprives it forever of the labor of all the young men, by accustoming them to be unable and unwilling to do Any more work,—What would be most desirable, I say, would be to keep the young men in the country; to settle them therein as much as possible, in order to retain for it the fruit and enjoyment of their labor, because they would enrich it more by Constant and assiduous work than by the difficult, uncertain, and temporary acquisition of a few Beaver-skins. Accordingly, the surest and most efficacious of all means

assurer la demeure de toutte la jeunesse dans le pays pour le trauail et la dessente des nations djcy haut a montreal p^{r}. le Comerce, parceque le trauail des uns et le Comerce des autres contribueroit a lenrichir

Tandis que tous les jeunes gens ne se donneront point dau. ocupãon que Celle de Venir jcy chercher le Castor, Jl ne faut pas esperer que la Colonie soit Jamais a son ayse, elle sera toujours pauure puisque toujours elle perdra par la Ce qui pouroit le plus lenrichir, Je veux dire le trauail de toutte la jeunesse. Voila Mg^{r}. le moyen que jestime le plus jmportant pour le bien et Corporel et spirituel de la Colonie et qujl faudroit le plus representer en Conscience a sa majesté luy en fesant bien Comprendre la necessité afin quelle donnat ordre quon trauaillat a rechercher et a trouuer touttes les voyes possibles de retablir le Comerce des sauuages et de le fixer a montreal pour retenir dans le pays toutte la jeunesse, et p^{r}. l'accoutumer au trauail des son bas age. Jl faudroit pour Cela dompter L Jroquois entierement, se lassujetir et posseder son pays qui vaut beaucoup mieux que tous Ceux des nations djcy haut, Cest le seul Ennemy que nous ayions a Craindre et qui nous dispute le Comerce de nos sauuages qujl veut attacher a langlois, quelle raison a ton eue de ne le pas vouloir detruire dans la guerre que lon auoit entreprise Contre luy, pourquoy la ton voulu Conserver! que perdroit on en le detruisant etant si peu nombreux qujl est presentem^{t}.; sa destruction et la posession de son pays nous assureront le Comerce de touttes les nations sauuages djcy haut; Jl ny auroit plus qua regler les bornes de notre Comerce

to make the Colony prosper would be to secure for it the settlement within the country of all the young men, for the sake of their labor, and the descent to montreal for Trade of the nations up here; because then the labor of one and the Trade of the other would contribute to enrich the Colony.

So long as all the young men devote themselves to no other occupation than That of Coming here for Beaver, There can be no hope that the Colony will Ever become flourishing; it will always be poor, for it will always lose thereby What would most enrich it,—I mean the labor of all the young men. Such, Monseigneur, is what I consider the most important step for the Temporal and spiritual welfare of the Colony, and what should, in Conscience, be most strongly represented to his majesty, by making him thoroughly Understand its necessity,—so that he may give orders to seek for and to find every possible means of restoring the Trade with the savages, and of establishing it at montreal, so as to keep all the young men in the country, and accustom them to work from early youth. To This end, The Iroquois must be completely tamed and reduced to subjection; and we must take possession of his country, which is much better than Those of all the nations up here. He is the only Enemy whom we have to Dread, or who disputes with us the Trade of the savages, which he tries to attract to the english. What reason was there for not consenting to destroy him in the war that we had undertaken to wage Against him? Why was he Spared? What would we lose by destroying him, now that his nation is so small in numbers? His destruction and the possession of his country would secure for us the Trade of all the savage

et de Celuy du misissipy pour que lun ne nuisit point a l'autre. on na Conservé 1 Jroquois dans la guerre presente que p^r^. la traitte de Catarakouy, et la traitte de Cataracouy netoit que pour Ceux qui Conservoie^t^. Ce fort et Cet ennemy, dou vient le Castor des Jroquois que des terres djcy haut qujl usurpe sur nos sauuages ausq^ls^. tout Ce Castor apartient! perdrions nous le Castor de 1 Jroquois par sa destruction, ne reviendroit jl pas a nos sauuages et d'eux a la Colonie

mais apres tout sjl est jmpossible de fixer le Comerce de nos sauuages a montreal et Consequamm^t^. de retenir la jeunesse francoise dans leurs familles po^r^ sy Exercer au trauail, sil est necess^re^. dune necess^té^. absolue et ynsurmontable que Lon vienne jcy haut f^re^. le Comerce parmy nos sauuages vous demandez dans Cette supõon que Je voudrois. Etre fausse, leq^l^. vaudroit mieux ou de retablir les 25 Congez sans aucuns postes, ou Etablir des postes sans le 25 Congez. Jauoue franchem^t^. que Je me trouue fort en peine a vous repondre parceque Je ne Connois pas bien de quelles sortes de postes vous voulez parler, sont ce des postes seulem^t^. de gens de Comerce sans garnison et sans Comandans, ou des postes qui seroie^t^ tenus tout ensemble par des personnes destinées a f^re^. le Comerce, et par des Comand^s^. auec le^r^. garnisons quon y veilleroit pour le^r^. *sureté*. Vous nous marquez la dessus votre sentiment Vous Jugez *qu'jl faudroit Retablir* les 25 Congez de trois hóes seulem^t^. par Canot, que les particuliers auant le^r^. depart feroient declarãon de Ce q^l^s^. porteroie^t^. auec Caution de revenir a la Colonie dans lespace de 18 mois. q^l^. ny auroit aucun poste Etably par des

nations up here. Nothing would remain to be done but to settle the boundaries of our Commerce and of That of the misissipy, so that one might not clash with the other. The Iroquois has been Spared in the present war solely on account of the trade of Catarakouy; and the trade of Cataracouy was only for Those who Preserved That fort and That enemy. Whence comes the Iroquois's Beaver but from the country up here, which he usurps from our savages, to whom all The Beavers belong? Should we lose the Iroquois's Beavers by his destruction? Would they not revert to our savages, and from them to the Colony?

But, after all, if it be impossible to establish the Trade of our savages at montreal,—and Consequently to retain the young frenchmen with their families, that they may Devote themselves to labor; if it be necessary, of absolute and insuperable necessity, that They should come up here to Trade with our savages,—you ask on That supposition, which I would wish to Be false, what would be best: to restore the 25 Permits without any posts, or to Establish posts without the 25 Permits. I frankly admit that I am very much embarrassed to answer you because I Know not very well to what kind of posts you are pleased to refer. Are they posts solely of Traders, without garrisons and without Commandants; or posts that would be occupied at the same time by persons employed in Trading, and by Commandants with their garrisons, who would watch over their *safety?* You express your opinion on that point. You Consider *that it would be necessary to Restore* the 25 Permits, for three men only to each Canoe; that private individuals should, previous to their departure, make a declaration of What they

offers. et sold. que Chacun feroit valoir Son Canot Comme jl voudroit, que les missionres. Chacun dans sa mission rendroiet. Compte de la Conduitte des voyageurs qui sy trouveroiet., que Ceux qui auroiet. donné de leau de vie, ou qui seroiet. Reconus pr. etre des libertins et des debauchez ny reuiendroiet. Jamais; quenfin les 25 Congez retablis de la sorte, Jl ny auroit plus dautres Etablisems. ny du detroit ny de scioux, ny des Jlinois, Cest la votre sentiment sur leql. puisque vous le desirez, Jl faut que Je mexplique Je vous diray donc que Je Connois trop la jeunesse de Canada a qui les Congez seroiet. acordez pour pouuoir Consentir a leur retablissemt; Cest une jeunesse accoutumé par une Jmpunité de plus de 15 ans au Comerce de leau de vie et des fes. Jl ne faut pas esperer quelle puisse desormais Sabstenir de lun et de l'autre, Je scay bien que le Comerce de Leau de vie pouroit estre aboly de la maniere que Je Croy vous lavoir mandé, si Ceux qui gouvernt. le pays vouloient son abolition: mais Cest Ce qls. nont point voulu Jusqu'jcy et Ce qls. ne veulent point encore presentemt., se Contentant de dire seulemt. qls. deffendent les desordres de leau de vie et lenyuremt. des sauuages, sans Jamais dire qujls deffendent la traitte deau de vie, Comme si Cette Infame traitte netoit pas la seule action par laquelle on peut les Enyurer. mais quand Ceux qui gouvernent le pays viendroient a abolir le Comerce de leau de vie et Consequemt. l'Yurognerie des sauuages, pouroiet. jls empecher Celuy des fes. qui est encore plus nuisible, plus pernicieux plus funeste a nos missions que Celuy de leau de vie; Jauoue que si les 25 Congez se pouuoiet. retablir de la maniere que

took with them, and be Cautioned to return to the Colony within 18 months; that no post should be Established by officers and soldiers; that Each one should make use of His Canoe As he pleased; that the missionaries, Each in his mission, should Report on the Conduct of the voyageurs who might go there; that Those who should give brandy, or be Known as profligates and debauchees, should Never return there; finally, that, when the 25 Permits should be thus restored, There should be no other Establishments — either at detroit, or among the scioux, or among the Ilinois. Such is your opinion — respecting which, as you desire it, I must explain myself. I will therefore tell you that I Know too well the young men of Canada to whom the Permits would be granted, to be able to Consent to their restoration. They are young men who have become accustomed, by more than 15 years of Impunity, to the Commerce of brandy and to that with women. There can be no hope of their abstaining from either in future. I know well that the Commerce of brandy might be abolished in the manner of which, I Think, I have told you, if Those who govern the country chose to abolish it; but That is What they have Hitherto not been willing to do, and What, moreover, they do not at present wish to do. They are Content with merely saying that they forbid the misconduct caused by brandy, and the intoxication of the savages, without Ever saying that they prohibit the brandy trade,— As if That Infamous traffic were not the sole course of action by which the savages can be made Drunk. But even if They who govern the country should put an end to the Commerce in brandy, and Consequently to the Drunkenness of the

vous nous marquez leur retablissem^{t} a lexclusion de tous les postes, des Commandans et des garnisons seroit le meilleur po^{9} nos missions mais un tel Retablissem^{t} ne nous paroit possib quen speculãon nous ne scaurions Croire qujl le soit dans lexecution, par une jnfinité de raisons que vous pouuez facilem^{t} voir sans qujl soit besoin den f^{re}. aucun detail. quelle jeunesse peut on renuoyer dans nos missions en retablissant les 25 Congez que Celle qui sera jugée le plus Capab. de les f^{re}. valoir, qui scait les lieux les manieres et la langue des sauuages, qui Conoist les personnes, qui a le plus dusage dadresse et de force pour Conduire les Canots! et nest ce pas aussy Celle la; et nest ce pas aussy celle la qui est la plus engagée dans Ces deux jnfames Comerces de leau de vie et de fe^{s}. nest ce pas elle qui a perdu nos missions et qui acheuera de les perdre si on ly renuoye, pour la Coriger jl y auroit tant de choses a f^{re}. quon ne voudra pas Sen donner la peine, Jls se sont servis du pretexte de diverses necessitez pour Etablir le Comerce des fe^{s}., ne Croyant pas que nous pussions raisonablem^{t} nous oposer a Ces sortes de besoins et en effet notre oposition ne seroit pas just sjls ne demandoie^{t}. que Certains seruices exterieurs et publics qui se peuvent rendre sans Crainte daucun scandale et daucun danger prochain ou ocasion de pecher, mais comme Cest au Corps meme des fe^{s}. qujls en veulent, que Cest luy duq^{l}. leur passion brutale se fait la p'pale necessité sous laparente honeteté des autres, nous sommes obligez de nous y oposer, et Cest sur touttes Ces sortes de necessitez pretendues q^{l}. faudroit les regler pour les empecher detre Comme elles sont les principes Communs dune

savages, could they prevent That with women — which is still more harmful, more pernicious, more fatal to our missions than That in brandy? I admit that, if the 25 Permits could be restored in the manner which you indicate, their restoration to the exclusion of all the posts, of the Commandants, and of the garrisons would be better for our missions; but such a Restoration seems to us to be possible only in theory — we cannot Believe that it can be carried out in practice, for a multitude of reasons which you can easily see, without its being necessary to give them in detail. What young men can be sent back into our missions, by restoring the 25 Permits, but Those who will be considered most Competent to turn them to advantage; who know the places, the customs, and the language of the savages; who are Acquainted with the persons; who have the most experience, skill, and strength in Managing Canoes? But are not These very young men the same who are most engaged in Those two infamous Commerces, in brandy and with women? Are not these young men the same who have ruined our missions, and who will complete their destruction if they be sent back there? So much will have to be done to Correct them that no one will take the trouble to do so. They have alleged various necessities for Establishing the Commerce with women, not Believing that we could reasonably oppose Such necessities; and, in fact, our opposition would not be just if they required only Certain outward and public services that can be rendered without any Fear of scandal, or any proximate danger or occasion of sin. But It is the very Bodies of the women that they desire; That is what their brutal passion makes their first

jmpudicité uniuerselle a laq^le^. Jl nous est ympossible de remedier par la raison q^ls^. la cachent tous Egalement sous les dehors honestes de leurs necessitez, qui Etant dailleurs Jnnocentes en elles memes ne le sont pourtant pas a leur Egard parcequelles leur seruent de disposition et de preparãon prochaine au peché. Jl faut vous les marquer en particulier afin quen ayant Connoiss^ce^. vous puissiez donner des auertissem^s^. necessaires a la Cour po^9^. y remedier efficacement en Cas que les 25 Congez vinssent a se retablir Ce que nous souhaitons qujl nariue pas.

Leur premiere necessité est Celle dauoir des fe^s^. q^ls^. Employent a piler du blé p^r^. f^re^. leur Chaudiere, et q^ls^. tiennent sous Ce pretexte dans leurs maisons quand jls veulent et autant q^ls^. veulent La seconde est den auoir qui leur Coupent du bois et qui le leur portent Chez eux p^r^. se Chauffer, la trois^e^. est dauoir des blanchisseuses qui du meme temps q^les^. blanchissent dun Costé leur linge, salissent leur Corps et noircissent leur ame de lau^e^. Costé par les plus honteuses brutalitez, la 4e. den auoir qui fassent des souliers sauuages, des Jarretieres des sacqs a leur facon et aũ. choses semblables, Jl y a encore quelques aũ. necessitez moins Comunes et moins ord^res^. que Ces 4 la qui sont les p'pales dont Jls se seruent p^r^. attirer les fe^s^. chez eux et p^r^. sen f^re^. une Raison daller chez elles quand Jl leur plait

Vous voyez bien Mg^r^. que bien q^l^. soit vray qujls peuuent quelques fois auoir besoin du seruice des fe^s^. dans Ces quatre sortes de necessitez, Cependant Jl est vray aussy d'une aũ. part q^les^. leur fournissent tout ensemble et un moyen facile p^r^. obtenir le

necessity, under the apparent decency of other needs. That is what we are obliged to oppose, and It is with reference to all These kinds of pretended necessities that rules must be made to prevent them from being, As they are, the Common sources of universal lewdness. It is impossible for us to apply a remedy for this evil, because they all Alike hide it under the decent pretext of their necessities — which, although Innocent in themselves, are not in their Case, because they serve them as a disposition and preparation for sin. It is necessary to point out these to you in detail, so that, when you Know them you may give the necessary warnings to the Court to apply an effective remedy in the Event of the 25 Permits being restored, which we trust will not happen.

Their first necessity consists in having women whom they Employ in pounding corn and doing their Cooking, and whom they detain under That pretext in their houses, when they wish and as long as they wish. The second consists in having some to Cut wood for them, and to carry it To their dwellings to Heat them. The third consists in having laundresses who, at the same time when, on the one Hand, they wash their linen, on the other defile their Bodies and blacken their souls by the most shameful brutishness. The 4th consists in having some women who make savage shoes, Garters [leggings?], and pouches, according to their fashion, and other similar articles. There are also some other necessities, less Common and less usual than Those 4 which are the chief ones, of which They make use to lure the women to their houses, and to give themselves a Pretext for going to theirs when It pleases them.

You see very well, Monseigneur, that even though

Comerce de leur Corps Et un pretexte honeste en aparence p^r^. les f^re^. entrer et p^r^. les receuoir dans leurs maisons et une excuse toutte prete pour se disculper et Eloigner deux les mauuais soubcons quand on les y trouue, quoy quen effet jls ne les y attirent et ne les y tiennent que dans des dispositions den venir a ce qujl y a de plus deshoneste, et de plus Criminel. Au Reste quoy q^l^. ne soit pas difficile de reconoitre la vanité de Ces faux pretextes, ny d'en empecher quand on voudra les mauuaises suittes, Cest pourtant Ce quon na point voulu Reconoitre ny empecher Jusques jcy. on a laissé Ces pretendues necessitez syntroduire peu a peu et passer en Coutume, et la Coutume les a rendues Jnsurmontables aux mission^res^. qui voudroient si oposer Efficacement, mais dont loposition na point daũ. effet que detre Jnutiles:

Jl faudroit donc pour Retablir les 25 Congez retrancher touttes Ces necessitez pretendues et tous les abus que Je viens de marquer si lon veut empecher q^ls^. ne Causent la Ruine de nos missions, Je veux q^l^. soit necess^re^. a ceux ausq^ls^. on les acorderoit demploYer quelques fois des fe^s^. sauuages soit a leur piler du blé soit a leur aporter du bois soit a blanchir leur linge soit a le^r^. f^re^. des souliers, soit enfin a leur rendre quelqu autre sorte de seruice honeste, quoyqua vray dire touttes Ces necessitez tout sont fort Volontaires a une jeunesse vigoureuse qui se porte bien qui na rien a f^re^. et qui par Cette Raison doit se donner de loccupãon si elle ne veut vivre dans une pure oisiueté les années entieres, mais Je veux que Ce soient en effet des necessitez, Cependant Il nest

it be true that they may sometimes need the services of women for Those four sorts of necessities, Still It is also true, on the other hand, that these give them at the same time both an easy means of obtaining the Commerce of the women's Bodies, And an apparently decent pretext for making them enter and for receiving them in their houses. These also provide for the men an ever-ready excuse for exculpating themselves, and for Removing suspicions of evil from them when they are found there,—although, in reality, they entice and keep them there only with the intention of doing with them what is most immoral and most Criminal. Moreover, although it be not difficult to recognize the emptiness of Those false pretenses, or to prevent their evil consequences when one chooses, the officers nevertheless have not Hitherto chosen to Recognize the one or to prevent the other. Those pretended necessities have been allowed to introduce themselves gradually, and to become a Custom; and Custom has made them Insurmountable to the missionaries—who would Effectively oppose them, but whose opposition has had no other effect than that of being Useless.

To Restore the 25 Permits, all Those pretended necessities must be done away with, as well as all the abuses that I have pointed out, if the government would prevent them from Causing the Ruin of our missions. I grant that it may sometimes be necessary, for those to whom the Permits are accorded, to have to employ savage women, either to pound corn for them, to carry wood for them, to wash their clothes, to make shoes for them, or, finally, to render them any other kind of honest service,—although, to tell the truth, all These necessities are purely

pas po^{9} Cela necess^{re}. que Ces fe^{s}. sauuages se rendent Comme par estat leurs domestiques, leurs seruantes, leurs menageres et leurs Cuisinieres, Cest assez quapres leur auoir pilé du blé Chez elles, apres leur auoir Coupé du bois dans la forest, apres auoir blanchy leur linge au bord du lac, apres leur auoir f^{t}. des souliers dans leurs Cabanes, elles aillent porter tout Cela a Ceux qui les ont employez, quelles en recoiuent le payem^{t}. et q^{les}. se retirent aussitot sans sarreter plus longtemps dans leurs maisons, tout le reste nest plus qu une ocasion prochaine de pesher, qu un principe des plus dangereuses tentations et ensuitte que desordre que libertinage, que dissolũon que priuautez que Comerces Jnfames et Criminels Voila mg^{r}. Ce q^{l}. faudroit absolument empecher par des deffenses Rigoureuses sous peine detre priuez du pouuoir de la traitte en Cas de Contrauention. mais Croyez vous qu on le puisse et quon le veille empecher? si vous le Croyez si vous en scauez les moyens, et que vous les suggeriez a la Cour et que vous fassiez en sorte quelle lempeche, nous consentons au retablissem^{t}. des 25 Congez; mais si vous ne Croyez pas que Cela soit possible dans des lieux tels que nos missions qui Sont hors de la veue, hors des prises et hors de la portée des puissances, si vous nen marquez pas vous meme les moyens a la Cour et si vous ne lengagez pas a donner des ordres efficaces pour Cet effet, nous ne scaurions vouloir quon retablisse les 25 Congez, qui autrement detruiroient Jnfailliblement nos missions. Je ne Croirois pas que Ce fut assez de deffendre a tous Ceux qui auroient Ces Congez de permettre l'entrée de leurs

Optional on the part of robust young men who are in good health, who have nothing to do, and who, for That Reason, should give themselves some occupation, unless they desire to live in perfect idleness for whole years,— but I insist that They must really be necessities. Nevertheless, for That purpose It is not necessary that The savage women should make a business of being their domestics, their servants, their housekeepers, their Cooks. It is enough that, after pounding their corn for them at their Homes, after Cutting wood for them in the forest, after washing their linen on the shore of the lake, after making shoes for them in their own Cabins, the women should carry all Those articles to The persons who have employed them, in order to receive payment therefor, and to withdraw at once, without remaining any longer in their houses. All else is but a proximate occasion for sin, the source of the most dangerous temptations; and it afterward leads but to misconduct, to licentiousness, to dissoluteness, to improper liberties, to Infamous and Criminal Commerce. Such, monseigneur, is What must be absolutely prevented by Rigorous prohibitions; and by the penalty of being deprived of the right to trade, in Case of Contravention. But do you Believe that it can be prevented, and that there is any desire to prevent it? If you Believe it; if you know the means of attaining that end, and suggest them to the Court; and if you so manage that it shall prevent those evils,— we consent to the restoration of the 25 Permits. But if you do not Believe that It is possible in places such as our missions,— which Are beyond the sight, beyond the influence, and beyond the scope of the authorities,— if you do not yourself

maisons pour un plus longtemps que Celuy de la traitte actuelle quils ne douroient Jamais f^re^. auec elles qua porte ouuerte et de telle sorte quon les y put voir; mais Je Croirois encore q^l^. seroit necess^re^, de Demander aux sauuages et dobtenir deux par un Colier public quon leur donneroit en plein Conseil, de ne point souffrir que leurs femmes et leurs filles allassent Courir dans les maisons francoises, ny quelles y entrassent que par la seule necessité dy traitter quelque chose sans sy areter dauentage, et meme que Jamais elles ny allassent seules mais toujours accompagnées de quelquautre personne pour empecher tout Ce qui pouroit donner occasion au mal ou au scandale.

De plus Comme l Jmpudicité ne sest pas Etablie par la seule liberté que les francois se sont donnez dadmetre les sauuagesses a toutte heure dans leurs maisons, mais que Ce qui a le plus Contribué a l Etablir, Cest la liberté q^ls^. ont pris eux memes d aller les Chercher dans leurs vilages, Jusques la que plusieurs des plus debauchez ne doutent point de quitter les maisons francoises pour saller loger auec elles dans leurs Cabanes, Cest encore la un desordre qui nayant Comancé que depuis le depart de M^r^. de ladurantaye dont les successeurs nont pas esté si Chastes que luy en sorte que quelquun deux a plus dun enfant dans Ce village, Cest disje encore la un desordre qujl faudroit fort particulierement deffendre pour lempesher de Recomancer.

Quand Je suis venu dans Cette mission si quelqu un des voyageurs Etoit obligé par quelque necessité extraord^re^. de loger pend^t^. quelque temps dans

point out the means to the Court, and if you do not induce it to give effectual orders to That end, we cannot consent to the restoration of the 25 Permits, which otherwise would Infallibly ruin our missions. I would not Consider it sufficient to prohibit all Those who may have Permits from allowing women to enter their houses for a longer time than is needed for actual trading — which should Never be carried on with them except with open doors, and in such a manner that they can be seen within. But I also Think that it would be necessary to Ask the savages — and to obtain from them by means of a Collar, given to them publicly in open Council — not to allow their women and girls to Roam through the french houses; or to enter them, save only when necessary to trade some article, without stopping there any longer. Indeed, they should even Never go there alone, but they should always be accompanied by some other person, to prevent anything that might give occasion for evil or for scandal.

Moreöver, lewdness has become Established not only through the liberty that the french have taken of admitting to their houses the savage women at all hours; but What has most Contributed to Establish it is the liberty, which they themselves have taken, of going to Seek those women in their villages. To such an extent is this carried that many of the most dissolute do not hesitate to leave the french houses, and to go to live with the women in their Cabins. This is, however, an evil that has Begun only since the departure of Monsieur de ladurantaye, whose successors have not been as Chaste as he was; as a result of this, one of them has more than one child in The village. This is, I say, still another

le village des sauuages Jl en auertissoit le Comandant et le mission^re^. afin quon luy assignat une Cabane qui ne fut point suspecte pour le pouuoir f^re^. sans aucun scandale: mais nous ne sommes plus dans Cet heureux temps: les Commandeurs et les traiteurs Jmpudiques ont pris le dessus sans auoir Egard aux justes opositions des Miss^res^. qui voyent le scandale sans pouuoir y remedier parceq^e^. les Comandans le soutiennent.

Voicy encore un aũ. desordre en Cette matiere qui est dautant plus grand qu'on le Rend plus visible en le voulant Cacher Cest q^l^. sen trouue plus^rs^. dune ympudicité si excessive et si Continuelle que ne pouuant soufrir dautre Comp^e^. que Celles qui sont necess^es^. a leur passion, Jls se batissent des maisons separées a eux seuls ou Etant solitaires a legard des autres francois Jls ne le sont Jamais a legard des fe^s^. dans les temps propres a leur Comerce. Vous voyez bien que Ce nest pas la un desordre qui se puisse soufrir tant jl est scandaleux, des traitteurs qui sont des gens de societé et de Communauté ne doiuent pas se separer ainsy des autres, de peur que tout seuls Jl ne leur ariue des accidens qujls ne Craignent pas, mais qujls devroient Craindre et que tout le monde doit Craindre pour eux. quon nous deliure donc pour jamais de Ces solitaires et de leurs Solitudes.

Enfin le Desordre de tous le plus scandaleux et qui demande le plus doposition est que les traiteurs setant acoutumez dans les lieux de traitte a auoir des femmes a leur Usage, sen sont fait une telle necessité q^ls^. ne scauroient plus sen passer meme dans leurs

kind of misconduct that must be especially prohibited, in order to prevent its Beginning again.

When I came to This mission, if any voyageur Were obliged, through any extraordinary necessity, to lodge for any time in the village of the savages, He notified the Commandant and the missionary, so that he might be assigned to a Cabin about which there was no suspicion, that he might lodge there without scandal. But we no longer live in Such happy times. Unchaste Commandants and traders have obtained the upper hand, without paying any Heed to the just opposition of the Missionaries — who witness the scandal without being able to prevent it, because the Commandants support it.

Here is another evil in connection with This matter, which is all the greater because it is Made more visible by trying to Hide it. It is that there are several who are addicted to such excessive and Continual lewdness that, as they cannot bear to have any other Company than That of the women who are necessary to their passions, They build separate houses for themselves alone — where, Remaining solitary as regards the french, They are Never so as regards the women, at the times suitable for their Commerce. You see very well that This is not an evil that can be tolerated, so scandalous is it. Traders — who are associated together, and have Common interests — should not live thus, separated from one another, lest while dwelling alone, accidents might happen to them which they Fear not, but which they should Fear, and which every one should Dread for them. May we therefore be delivered forever from Those solitaries and their Solitudes.

Finally, the most scandalous Evil of all, and that

voyages, Je ne parle point de Celles que lon prend auec leurs maris ny ayant rien en Cela que dhoneste, aussy ne sont pas Celles la quon veut auoir ordinairement, Ce sont des femmes seules, des fe^{s}. sans leurs maris, des femmes maitresses de leur propre Corps, des fe^{s}. qui peuuent le leur donner et qujls scauent disposées a le vouloir, en un mot Ce sont touttes les prostituées de Montreal que lon amene jcy et quon y remene alternatiuement, et Ce sont touttes les prostituées djcy ausq^{les}. on fait f^{re}. les memes mouuemens djcy a montreal et de montreal jcy. Cest la aujourdhuy la maniere ord^{re}. de leurs voyages qui ne se font plus que par un flux et Reflux continuel de Ces prostituées que lon voit monter et descendre, aller et venir dune mission a lautre sans discontinuation auec le scandale du monde le plus Enorme et le plus horrible. le pretexte qujls aportent pour prendre des femmes plustost que des hommes dans leurs voyages Cest que les fe^{s}. leur coutent moins que les hommes et quelles se contentent dun moindre payement, Jls disent vray mais Cela meme quelles se Contentent dun moindre payem^{t}. est une preuue Evidente de leur dereglement. si elles Etoient sages ne deuroient elles pas demander le meme payem^{t}. que Celuy des hommes puisquelles rendent le meme seruice, et q^{les}. en rendent souuent dauantage en leur Coupant du bois et en fesant leur Chaudiere Ce que les hommes ne veulent pas f^{re}. Ce nest donc pas la lunique Raison q^{ls}. ont de prendre des femmes, mais Cest que Ces fe^{s}. Etant vicieuses les veulent pour hóes et eux reciproquem^{t} p^{r}. fe^{s}. dans tous Ces voyages apres lesquels Sjls sont obligez de

which needs to be most strenuously opposed, is that the traders have become so accustomed to have women for their Use in the trading-places, and these have become so necessary to them, that they cannot do without them even on their journeys. I do not refer to Those who are taken with their husbands, because there is nothing in This that is not decent; and, consequently, Those are not the ones whose company is generally desired. I refer to single women, women without husbands, women who are mistresses of their own Bodies, women who can dispose of them to these men, and whom the latter know to be willing to do so,—in a word, They are all the prostitutes of Montreal, who are alternately brought here and taken back; and They are all the prostitutes of this place, who are carried in the same way from here to montreal, and from montreal here. At present this is the usual manner in which their journeys are carried on; and voyages are no longer performed without a continual flow and Ebb of That tide of prostitutes,—whom we see ascending and descending, going and coming from one mission to another, without cessation,—to the most Heinous and loathsome scandal of the people. The pretext that they usually allege for taking women in preference to men on their journeys is, that women cost them less than men, and are satisfied with lower wages. They speak the truth; but the very Fact of their being Satisfied with less wages is a Manifest proof of their dissoluteness. If they Were wise would they not ask to be paid the same as men, since they perform the same services—and frequently do more, by Cutting wood for them and by Cooking their food, which the men will not do? Therefore that is

sentre quitter, Jls ne se separent que pour en Chercher dautres

Je vous demande jcy Monseigr. si vous Jugez que tous Ces desordres dont Je viens de vous fre. nos plaintes puissent sabolir en retablissant les 25 Congez, sjls peuuent sabolir, retablissez les en nous assurant par des voyes Certaines de leur abolition mais Si au Contraire vous ne jugez pas quon les puisse abolir vous devez Juger en meme temps que les 25 Congez ne doiuent nullement estre Retablis puisque leur Retablissemt Causeroit Jnfailliblemt. Celuy des desordres.

Or suposé quon ne Retablisse dans nos missions ny les garnisons et Comandans, ny les 25 Congez po9. les Raisons Cy dessus marqueés et que dailleurs le Comerce des sauuages ne se puisse Retablir ny etre fixé pour toujours auec assurance a montreal Jl ne resteroit plus dautre moyen a prendre a la Compage. que denuoyer et dentretenir dans nos missions djcy haut des personnes Choisies, sages, vertueuses Jntelligentes, et bien versées dans tout Ce qui regarde Ce negoce, et enfin parfaitemt disposées a vouloir vivre dans une mutuelle Corespondance auec tous les missionres. Jusquau nomb quelle Jugeroit necessre. et sufisant po9. fre. son Comerce, po9. y attacher les Sauuages et les y maintenir tant par leur presence que par celle de leurs marshandises, par leur veue, par leur transport et par le Debit Continuel qui sen feroit parmy eux dans un bon fort toujours bien pouruu et bien fourny darmes por. se bien deffendre et se bien battre auec eux en Cas de necessité, ou Ceux qui presideroient au Comerce tiendroient lieu

not their sole Reason for taking women; but the reason is that The women, Being depraved, want them as men; and they, on their part, want them as women, on all Their journeys,—after which If they quit one another, They separate from these only to Seek others.

I ask you here, Monseigneur, whether you Consider that all These evils, respecting which I have just submitted our complaints, can be abolished by restoring the 25 Permits. If they can be abolished, then restore the Permits; and assure us that the evils are abolished, by measures that will be Certain to produce their effect. But If, on the Contrary, you do not consider that they can be abolished, you should at the same time Consider that the 25 Permits must by no means be Restored, since their Restoration would Infallibly Cause That of lawlessness.

Now suppose that, for the Reasons given Above, neither the garrisons with their Commandants nor the 25 Permits are Reëstablished in our missions; and that the Trade of the savages cannot be Reëstablished or permanently fixed with certainty at montreal. There would remain, then, no other measure for the Company to adopt than to send and maintain in our missions up here Selected persons, sober and virtuous, Intelligent, and well versed in everything connected with That trade,—and, finally, such as would be fully disposed to live on terms of mutual Agreement with all the missionaries. These men should be sent, in whatever number the Company might Deem necessary and sufficient for carrying on its Trade, for attaching thereto the Savages, and for retaining them in it both by their presence and that of their wares; and by the sight, the transportation, and the Continual Sale of those wares among them. The French should be stationed in a

de Comandans dans Ces sortes d'oca'ons et les autres lieu de garnison

Voila monseig^{r}. Ce que nous Croyons qui seroit le meilleur pour nos missions et en meme temps le meilleur pour les Jnterets de la Comp^{e}. qui par Ce moyen seroit assurée dauoir elle seule tout le Castor, ny ayant plus ny de Comandans, ny de garnison qui, de quelque precaution que lon pusse user, ne laissent pas neantmoins den emporter une bonne partie, par une Jnfinité de voyes secretes et dyntelligences auec les sauuages: elle seroit encore assurée par la que les 25 Congez netant point Retablis les marchandises ne se dissiperoie^{t}. point en mille fausses depenses par tout Ce q^{l}. y a de Libertins dans une jeunesse Debauchee; Cest a vous a voir apres Cela en presence de Dieu, et dans lyntime fond de votre Conscience Ce que vous deuez representer a la Cour comme le plus expedient et le plus necess^{re}. Je ne Dis pas seulem^{t}. po^{r}. le Bien de nos Missions et de la Religion ny seulement po^{r}. le Bien du Comerce, mais Je dis pour le bien de lun et lautre, pour le bien de la religion et du Comerce que vous estes obligé dacorder ensemble sans Jamais separer lun de l'autre, en sorte que le Comerce ne nuisse Jamais a la Religion, qui doit toujours f^{re}. le p^{r}. et le plus essentiel de tous nos Jnterets.

Pour Ce qui Regarde l Etablissement du detroit, Je nay rien a vous en dire par mes propres lumieres n'en ayant point de Connoiss^{ce}. que par le raport des francois et des sauuages qui nous en parlent jcy. a en juger par leur raport Ce nest pas un Etablissement qui leur paroisse etre auantageux, Jls n'en sont point Contens pour diverses raisons fort

good fort, always well provisioned, and well supplied with arms for its defense and for successfully combating the savages in Case of necessity,— where Those who would have charge of the Trade would on Such occasions occupy the position of Commandants, while the others would take the place of the garrisons.

Such, monseigneur, is What we Consider the best that can be done for our missions, and the best that can be done in the Interest of the Company — which, by That means, would be sure to obtain exclusive possession of all the Beaver-skins. For there would no longer be either Commandants or garrisons — who, in spite of all the precautions that may be taken, nevertheless succeed in obtaining a considerable portion of the peltries, by an Infinite number of hidden ways and by secret intelligence with the savages. The Company would also be assured thereby that, as the 25 Permits would no longer be Available, the goods would not be wasted in a thousand unnecessary expenses by all the Libertines among a Dissolute youth. It is your duty to consider, after That, in the presence of God and in the very depths of your Conscience, What you should represent to the Court as the most expedient and the most necessary measures,— I Mean not only for the Good of our Missions and of Religion, or only for the Good of the Trade, but for the welfare of both. I desire the good of both religion and the Trade, which you are obliged to keep in accord one with the other, without Ever separating one from the other,— so that Trade may Never interfere with Religion, which must ever be the foremost and most essential of all our Interests.

As Regards the detroit Establishment, I have nothing to tell you about it of my own knowledge;

Considerables que Jay marquees au R. pere superieur dans Ce que Je luy Ecris pour ma Justification contre les accusãons de M^r^. de la Motte qui Continue de me persecuter

Je ne serois pas maintenant dans Cette peine si Jauois merité dobtenir de vous la grace que je vous auois demandée denuoyer en Cour la lettre qui Contenoit nos plaintes en 13 articles p^r^. etre presenteé a Sa maj^té^. et p^r^. la suplier de nous rendre justice contre ses Calomnies et ses violences, et de nous proteger Contre les menaces qujl fesoit des lors publiquement deuant les francois qui lentendoient auec Etonnement de perdre nos missions. Je prevoyois bien qujl Etoit homme a pousser jusqu'en Cour ses mauuais desseins Comme jl a fait par des Calomnies, et Comme jl vient de f^re^. encore tout recemment Contre le p. Vaillant, Jauois Cru le deuoir preuenir pour empecher leffet de ses menaces, et assurement Je laurois empeché si nos plaintes que Jauois reduites a 13 articles, et que Je vous auois adressées, eussent esté portées a sa maj^té^ selon la priere que Je vous fesois au nom de tous nos peres, mais mon malheur ayant voulu que Je ne meritasse pas de vous Cette grace quelque necess^re^. quelle fut a tous tant que nous sommes de Mission^res^. Jl a pris de la tout lauantage qujl a voulu pour nous accuser le premier en Cour. Vous aurez apris Ses nouuelles accusations contre moy sur mes pretendues opositions a son Etablissement du detroit et vous le pouuez voir dans ma lettre de justification au R. p. Superieur qui ne manquera pas de Vous la Communiquer, quoy que mon jnnocence mempeche daprehender la fausseté de ses accusations, Jl mest toute fois necess^re^.

for I have no Information concerning it, except through the reports of the french and the savages who talk with us here about it. Judging from their reports, It does not seem to them to be an advantageous Establishment. They are not Satisfied with it, for various very Important reasons — which I have pointed out to the Reverend father superior, in What I Write for my Justification against the charges brought by Monsieur de la Motte, who Continues to persecute me.

I would not now be in This trouble, had I deserved to obtain from you the favor that I had asked from you, that of sending to the Court the letter Containing our complaints in 13 articles, to be presented to His majesty, — begging him to do us justice against the Calumnies and violence of Monsieur de la Motte, and to protect us Against his threats of ruining our missions, which he was then publicly uttering in the presence of the french, who listened to him with Astonishment. I foresaw very well that he Was a man capable of carrying his evil designs before the Court, As he has already done by Calumnies, and As he has quite recently done Against father Vaillant. I Thought that I would forestall him, in order to prevent the effect of his threats; and I would certainly have prevented it, had our complaints — which I had reduced to 13 articles, and which I had addressed to you — been laid before his majesty, as I had begged you, in the name of all our fathers, to do. But it was my misfortune not to deserve That favor from you, however necessary it might have been for all of us Missionaries. He thereby derived all the advantage that he desired, in order to be the first to accuse us before the Court. You will have learned His recent charges against me, respecting my pretended opposition to his

que vous fassiez maintenant pour moy ce qui ne sest pas fait par le passé quoy que vous nayiez pas enuoyé en Cour ma lettre de plainte, Je ne scaurois pourtant me persuader que vous l ayiez meprisée Jusqua ne vouloir pas du moins la Conseruer pour vous en seruir dans la suitte a nous rendre Justice en Cas de besoin. Je vous suplie donc ne doutant point que vous ne layiez conseruée de vouloir bien la remetre entre les mains du R. P. superieur a qui Jay Ecrit pour vous la demander de ma part, Cest la derniere grace et lunique necessaire que Je puisse recevoir de vous auant votre depart de Ce pays Je serois allé moy meme en personne pour vous la demander sur lobligeante jnvitation que vous et Madame auez bien voulu me f^re^. de Descendre la bas pour me donner la Consolãon de vous saluer de vous voir de vous entretenir lun et lautre auant votre Retour en france ou sa maj^té^. vous rapelle pour l Jntend^ce^. du Haure et de touttes ses Costes maritimes: mais letat present de ma mission divisée et qujl faut que Je Reunisse ne me permet pas de La quitter dans le temps de sa division pour me procurer une Consolation telle que Celle la.

L assurance que vous me donnez de la maniere du monde la plus obligeante de me Continuer toujours lhonneur de votre amitié Jusqua vouloir que je vous Ecrive encore dans l Eloignement ou nous allons estre, tout Ce qui se passera dans Nos Missions, et que Je vous represente tous les Besoins que nous pourions auoir de votre secours auec la meme Confiance que Je vous les ay representez pend^t^. les 15 années que le Canada a jouy du bonheur de votre presence; une telle assurance dis je metoit necessaire

Establishment of detroit; and you may see it in my letter of justification written to the Reverend father Superior, who will not fail to Communicate it to You. Although my innocence prevents my dreading his false accusations, It is however necessary for my protection that you should do now what has not been done in the past. Although you have not sent my letter of complaint to the Court, I cannot persuade myself that you should have deemed it so little worthy of consideration As not to wish at least to Keep it, so that you might use it in future to do us Justice in Case of need. Therefore, having no doubt that you have kept it, I beg you to be good enough to place it in the hands of the Reverend Father superior, to whom I have Written to ask you for it on my behalf. It is the last favor and the only necessary request that I can ask from you before your departure from This country. I would myself have gone in person to ask you for it, on the kind invitation that you and Madame have been good enough to send me to Go down below, in order to give myself the Consolation of paying my respects to you, of seeing you, and of conversing with both of you previous to your Return to france — whither his majesty recalls you, to occupy the position of Intendant of Havre and of all its Coasts. But the actual condition of my divided mission, which I must Reunite, does not permit me to leave It while it is divided, in order to give myself such Consolation as That.

The assurance which you convey to me, in the most obliging manner in the world, that you will always Continue to grant me the honor of your friendship to the Extent of wishing me still to Write to you, in spite of the Distance that there will be between us, about all That shall occur in Our Mis-

pour adoucir la peine que votre depart me deuoit Causer et pour me le rendre plus suportable. Vous souffrirez donc encore mes lettres et si la grandeur et la multitude de vos occupations vous laisse quelques momens libres pour pouuoir mhonorer de vos reponses, Jl ne se peut f^re^. quun tel honeur ne me Cause plus de plaisir que Je nen meritte. Toutte votre famille, votre personne Celle de Madame Celles de Messrs. vos Enfans et surtout Celle de notre petit missionn^re^. me seront toujours Cheres; Je noublieray Jamais Ce que Je vous dois, et si Je ne puis pas vous rendre dautres seruices, du moins Je puis vous assurer de Celuy des prieres et des sacrifices que joffriray a dieu a l Autel pour votre Conservãon pour votre prosperité et pour lheureuse administrãon de votre Jntendance auec tous les succez que vous pouuez Souhaiter. Je suis auec toutte lestime et tout le Respect que vous meritez

Monseigneur,
votre tres humble et
tres obeissant seruiteur,
signé Etienne de Carheil
de la Comp^e^. de Jesus

Je me suis oublié en parlant de l Etablissement du detroit de vous dire que pendant tout le temps de la guerre les sauuages desiroient Cet Etablissement du detroit parcequalors Jls suposoient toujours qu'on vouloit detruire l Jroquois, et que par sa Destruction Jls posederoient paisiblement touttes les terres de son Etendue mais depuis qujls ont veu que bien loin de le vouloir detruire on ne pensoit qua le menager, qua le Conseruer qua le favoriser en luy donnant du

sions, and to inform you of all the Need that we may have of your assistance,— with the same Confidence as that with which I have informed you of them during the 15 years while Canada has enjoyed the happiness of your presence,— such an assurance, I say, was needed by me to mitigate the sorrow that your departure was to Cause me, and to make it more endurable to me. Therefore you will still bear with my letters, and, if the extent and multitude of your occupations allow you a few moments leisure to enable you to honor me with your answers, such an honor will surely Cause me more pleasure than I deserve. The whole of your family — yourself, Madame, Messieurs your Children, and, above all, our little missionary — will ever be Dear to me. I shall Never forget What I owe to you; and, if I can render you no other services, I can at least assure you of That of my prayers, and of the sacrifices that I shall offer to God on the Altar for your Preservation, for your prosperity, and for the happy administration of your Intendance, with all the success that you can Desire. I remain with all the esteem and all the Respect that you deserve,

Monseigneur,

your very humble and
very obedient servant,
signed, ETIENNE DE CARHEIL,
of the Society of Jesus.

In speaking of the detroit Establishment, I forgot to tell you that, during the whole time while the war lasted, the savages desired That Establishment at detroit; because They always supposed that the destruction of the Iroquois was desired, and that by his Destruction They would peaceably enjoy all the

terrain dans les terres q[ls]. regardoient Comme leur propre pays et en Retablissant le fort de Cataracouy en sa faueur, Jls ont entierement Changé de penseés et ne regardent plus le Detroit que Comme le pays Ennemy ou jls ne peuvent Vouloir demeurer ny ayant nulle senorité pour eux et assurement jls ne peuvent penser ny juger autrement; de sorte que Ceux des hurons qui restent Jcy et qui ne veulent pas aller au detroit, se defient de Ceux qui sont allez s'y Etablir, et Croyent qujls veulent s'aller Rendre a l Iroquois pour entrer dans le Comerce des Anglois.

lands in his Country. But since they have found that, far from wishing to destroy him, we thought only of sparing and Preserving him; of befriending him, by giving him land in what they considered As their own country; and by Restoring the fort of Cataracouy for his benefit,— They have completely Changed their minds, and no longer look upon Detroit in any other light than That of an Enemy's country, where they can have no Wish to dwell, and where there can be no security for them. And assuredly they cannot think or judge otherwise; so that Those of the huron nation who remain Here, and who do not wish to go to detroit, mistrust Those who have gone to Settle there, and Think that they intend to go there in order to Surrender to the Iroquois, so as to join in the Trade with the English.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA: VOL. LXV

CLXIX

This document is an account of the missions of the Society in Canada during 1696. It is apparently written by Jacques de Lamberville, but is without indication of either place or date. Shea published it as the opening chapter in No. 20 (so enumerated by Lenox Library) of his Cramoisy series, of which the following is a description:

" Relation | des | Affaires du Canada, | En 1696. | Avec des Lettres des Peres de la | Compagnie de Jéſus depuis | 1696 juſqu'en 1702. | [*Cut with storks*] | Nouvelle-York: | De la preſſe Cramoisy de Jean-Marie Shea. | MDCCCLXV."

Title, verso blank, 1 leaf; Avant Propos, signed by Shea, p. (1); contents, on verso; text, pp. 7–73; no colophon. Frequently bound in with Nos. 21 and 22 of the series — Bigot's *Relation de la Miſſion Abnaquiſe de St. François de Sales l'Année 1702* (New York, 1865); and Gravier's *Lettre* of February 23, 1708 (New York, 1865).

We follow a MS. in the Manuscripts Department of the Library of Congress, at Washington, D. C. This, with several other Jesuit missionary MSS., some originals and some contemporary apographs, was purchased for the library from the collection of the late Peter Force.

CLXX

We obtain François de Crépieul's "La Vie d'vn Missionaire Montagnaix" (dated April 21, 1697) from the MS. volume in the archiepiscopal archives of Quebec, described in the Bibliographical Data for Vol. LXIII. of our series, under Doc. CLVII.

CLXXI

This document consists of two letters written by Jacques Gravier to Bishop Laval — the first from Montreal, September 17, 1697; the second from Michillimackinac, September 20, 1698. The former we obtain from the original MS. at Laval University, Quebec; the latter, from *L'Abeille*, vol. 7, no. 13.

Shea has published the French text of both of these letters: the first-named, in No. 20 of his Cramoisy series — described under Doc. CLXIX. above, pp. 23–28; the second, in No. 15 of that series, pp. 63–66, of which the following is a description:

"Relation | de la | Mission du Missisipi | du Seminaire de Québec en 1700. | Par MM. de Montigny, de St. Cosme, et Thaumur de | la Source. | [*Cut with storks*] | Nouvelle York: | A la Preſſe Cramoiſy de Jean-Marie Shea. | M DCCC LXI."

Title, with attestation on verso of number printed, 1 leaf; table, verso blank, 1 leaf; Avant-Propos, signed by "J. M. S.," p. (1); verso, with Note on St. Cosme, signed "J. B. F.;" text (six documents), pp. 9–66; colophon: "Achevé d'imprimer le 17 Mai, 1861," with verso blank, 1 leaf.

CLXXII–CLXXIV

All three of these documents we take from Shea's Cramoisy series No. 20, described under Doc.

CLXIX. above. They consist of: A letter of Julien Binneteau to a brother Jesuit, written from the Illinois country in 1699 (apparently in January); a letter from Gabriel Marest to another Jesuit, also from the Illinois, April 29, 1699; and another from Jacques Bigot to a brother Jesuit, from the Abenaki country (apparently on October 26), 1699. We have been unable to trace the whereabouts of the original MSS.

CLXXV

The original MS. of Jacques Gravier's journal of his tour down the Mississippi (written from Fort de Mississipi, in February, 1701) rests in the archives of l'École de Ste. Geneviève, in Paris, its press-mark being "Canada Divers, tome 11, doc. 6." This MS. we follow in the present publication.

Shea published this document in one of his Cramoisy series, of which the following is a description:

"Relation | ou Journal | du Voyage | du | R. P. Jacques Gravier, | de la Compagnie de Jéſus, | en 1700 | depuis le pays des Illinois juſqu'à | l'embouchure du Miſſiſſipi. | [*Cut with storks*] | Nouvelle York, Isle de Manate, | De la Preſſe Cramoiſy de Jean-Marie Shea. | M. DCCC. LIX."

Title, with attestation on verso of number printed, 1 leaf; contents, verso blank, 1 leaf; text, pp. 5–67; "Note" on p. 68; colophon, with verso blank, 1 leaf. The colophon reads: "Achevé d'Imprimer par J. Munſell, à Albany, d'après l'original, reſtant à la maiſon Profeſſe de Paris, ce 31 Aouſt, 1859."

In the Lenox Library Catalogue of the Shea series, this volume is numbered 11; but, in the volume itself, Mr. Lenox called it No. 12. As has frequently been explained in these bibliographical notes, the

Lenox numbering, while adopted by us as convenient for reference, is wholly arbitrary. This publication was issued in both large- and small-paper editions, the former being upon fine writing-paper; Lenox Library has No. 1 of four such copies printed. The whole number printed of the *Relation*, professes to have been 100.

As above stated, Shea's publication of the French version of Gravier's voyage was made in 1859. Two years later, he published an English translation in the following work:

" Early voyages | up and down the Mississippi, | by | Cavelier, St. Cosme, Le Sueur, | Gravier, and Guignas. | With an Introduction, Notes, and an Index, | By John Gilmary Shea. | [*Munsell's mark*] | Albany: | Joel Munsell. | 1861."

Half-title: " Munsell's Historical Series No. viii.," with verso blank, 1 leaf; title, verso blank, 1 leaf; dedication: " To the Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa Historical Societies, as a token of membership, this volume is offered by John Gilmary Shea," with verso blank, 1 leaf; preface, pp. vii., viii.; contents, verso blank, 1 leaf; introduction, pp. vi.–xi. (a repetition of pagination); text, with half-titles, pp. 13–175; p. 176 blank; appendix, pp. 177–179; p. 180 blank; index, pp. 181–188; list of subscribers, pp. 189–191.

CLXXVI

The original MS. of this report upon the revenues of the Jesuits, drafted at Quebec, October 4, 1701, rests in the archives of the Ministère des Colonies, at Paris, the press-mark being " Église de Canada, vol. 106, carton 11, folio 48." We follow the original.

CLXXVII

We also follow the original MS. of this letter of Etienne de Carheil to Louis Hector de Callières, governor of Michillimackinac, dated August 30, 1702. It rests in the Archives Nationales, at Paris, its press-mark being "Carton M. 204."

A portion of this letter is given in Orhand's life of Carheil — *Un Admirable Inconnu* (Paris et Lille, n.d., but subsequent to 1886).

An apograph of the original, made for Father Jones by a professional copyist attached to the Archives Nationales, is in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal. For the present publication, however, we have preferred to follow our own transcript.

NOTES TO VOL. LXV

(Figures in parentheses, following number of note, refer to pages of English text.)

1 (p. 27).—This woman was Susanne Gouentagrandi; see Milet's account of her kindness to him during his captivity (vol. lxiv., pp. 77–83, 89, 93, 105).

2 (p. 29).—Regarding Frontenac's last expedition against the Iroquois, see his official report thereof, and "Narrative of the most remarkable occurrences in Canada, 1695–96" (*N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vol. ix., pp. 639–657). Cf. La Potherie's *Hist. Amer. Septent.*, t. ii., pp. 270–282; *N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, vol. i., pp. 323–355; and Parkman's *Frontenac*, pp. 410–417.

3 (p. 33).—Joseph Seré de la Colombière, a Sulpitian priest, came to Canada in 1682. When recalled to France by his superiors (1691), he left the Sulpitians; but he returned to Canada in the following year, at the same time as Bishop St. Vallier, and was a prominent ecclesiastical official there during the rest of his life. He died at Quebec, July 18, 1723.

Guillaume Seré de la Colombière came, when a student for the priesthood, to Canada, where he was ordained in February, 1698. He was then appointed chaplain to the General Hospital at Quebec, a post which he retained until his death, Oct. 22, 1713, aged thirty-nine years.—Langevin's *Biog. Laval*, p. 272; Gosselin's *Henri de Bernières*, p. 131; *St. Vallier et l'Hôpital Général* (Quebec, 1882), p. 711.

4 (p. 41).—There were at Quebec two merchants of the same name, François Hazeur, father and son. The former, whose wife was Marie Provost, had four children; the two daughters became Hospital nuns. He died in 1685, at Montreal.

The elder of his sons, François, was born in 1638, and in 1672 married Antoinette Soumande, by whom he had fourteen children. He died in June, 1708; he was then a member of the supreme council. Two of his sons became priests—Pierre, ordained in 1700; and Thierry, ordained in 1706.

5 (p. 53).—It will be remembered that St. Vallier was now bishop of Canada, in place of Laval (vol. lxiii., *note* 10)

6 (p. 53).—Concerning the appointment of Allouez as vicar-general in the West, see vol. lvi., *note* 8 (where read "vicar-general" instead of "grand vicar"). Shea thinks that the same dignity was conferred upon Marquette in 1672, when about to begin his exploration of the Mississippi (*Church in Col. Days*, p. 313). Gravier was appointed thereto in December, 1690 (but the Seminary priest Montigny, during 1698–1701); Mermet succeeded to the office, apparently in 1707; and, ten years later, Dominique Marie Varlet (*Ibid.*, pp. 535–538, 543, 544, 555). From the jurisdiction of the latter were, however, excepted the Jesuits, who were directed by their own superior.

7 (p. 61).—In the autumn of 1698, missions among the Western Algonkins were opened by the Séminaire des Missions Étrangères (vol. xlv., *note* 1; vol. lii., *note* 4; vol. lxiv., *note* 22). For this enterprise were selected François Jolliet de Montigny, Antoine Davion, and Jean François Buisson (Bisson) de Saint Cosme. The two former bore nearly half of the expenses for their outfit, which cost nearly 10,000 livres. From the outset, there was, very naturally, more or less friction between them and the Jesuits, upon whose field the Seminary priests had thus intruded. The latter carried on various missions, mainly among the tribes on the lower Mississippi; but their efforts showed little result, except at Cahokia, where a considerable number of French families had settled. By 1721, the work of the Seminary priests had entirely ceased in the Mississippi Valley.

Montigny came from Paris to Canada, and was ordained at Quebec in 1693; he was for some time director of the Ursuline convent there. After two years spent in the Louisiana mission (1698–1700), Montigny returned to France; he became a missionary in China, where he labored with much success until 1710. Thereafter he resided at Paris as director of the Missions Étrangères, and died in 1725, aged 64 years.

St. Cosme was a Canadian, born at Quebec in February, 1667. He was ordained at the age of twenty-three, and, after doing missionary work at Mines, in Acadia, was sent to the Mississippi, where he labored at Cahokia and Natchez, successively. While on a voyage down the river, he was assassinated by a band of Chetimacha savages, near the end of the year 1702 (following Pénicaut, in Margry's *Découv. et établ.*, t. v., p. 433; but 1706, according to La Harpe, *Journ. Hist.*, p. 101). He had a cousin bearing the same name as his own, and also a priest, who remained in Quebec—born in 1660, ordained in 1683; he died in 1712.

Davion located his residence among the Tonicas, at a place now known as Fort Adams, Miss.; he remained there until 1708, when

his mission became endangered by hostile savages, and he withdrew to Mobile. In 1725, Davion returned to France, where he died, Apr. 8, 1726.

Julien Binneteau (Binteau) was born at La Flèche, March 13, 1653, and entered the Jesuit novitiate at Paris, Sept. 7, 1676. He was a student at La Flèche in 1680–81, and at Paris in 1685–89; the rest of the period 1678–90 was spent as instructor at Rouen, Nevers, Amien, and Caen, successively. In 1691, he came to Canada, and two years later was serving the Acadian mission. Rochemonteix says (*Jésuites*, t. iii., pp. 538, and 539, *note* 1) that Binneteau spent two years at St. François de Sales; and that he then went to Michillimackinac, and thence (1696) to Kaskaskia. He remained in the Illinois mission until his death, which occurred (according to Rochemonteix, *Jésuites*, t. iii., p. 541) Dec. 24, 1699. The hardships which cost him his life are described by Marest — *Lettres édifiantes* (Toulouse ed., 1610), t. vi., p. 274; see our vol. lxvi., p. 253.

8 (p. 73). — The *assimines* here mentioned were the fruits of the papaw (*Asimina triloba*); the *piakimines*, those of the persimmon (vol. lix., *note* 32). Cf. vol. lxiv., *note* 21.

9 (p. 73). — Allusion is made to the opossum (*Didelphys Virginiana*).

10 (p. 87). — The Abenaki village referred to was Naurakamig, as written by Vincent Bigot (Rochemonteix's *Jésuites*, t. iii., pp. 438–439, *note*); or Narankamigouk, by Rale (*Maine Hist. Colls.*, vol. iv., p. 102). It was established by that Father in 1698, in order to provide a suitable location for teaching them agriculture. He was replaced by his brother Jacques, in September, 1698.

11 (p. 101). — This removal of the Kaskaskia tribe from their old home (vol. lix., *note* 42; vol. lxiv., *note* 28) was to the site of the modern village of Kaskaskia. These savages at first intended to migrate to the vicinity of Iberville's new post in Louisiana; but Gravier induced them to remain at the above place. The village was called by them Rouensac, after their chief Rouensa; the Jesuit mission therein was named for the Immaculate Conception. A French trading post was soon established here; most of the traders and voyageurs took Indian wives, and thus formed the nucleus of the village of Kaskaskia. — See *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vol. ix., pp. 886, 891; Shea's *Church in Colon. Days*, pp. 544, 557–559; Doherty's "Kaskaskia the Ancient," *U. S. Cath. Hist. Mag.*, vol. iv., pp. 31–45; Wallace's *Illinois and Louisiana under French Rule* (Cincinnati, 1893), pp. 198–205.

The appellation "Illinois du détroit" is explained by Mermet (vol. lxvi., doc. clxxx.,), as referring to the Peorias. As Lake Peoria is

but an expansion of the Illinois River, the phrase "du détroit" probably alludes to the narrowing of the river at the lower end of the lake, where their village was located.

Jacques Gravier was born at Moulins, France, May 17, 1651; he was educated at the Jesuit college there, and entered the novitiate of the order at Paris, Oct. 29, 1670. An instructor at Hesdin during 1672–77, and at Eu and Arras in 1678–80, his studies were pursued at Paris until 1684; and in the following year he came to Canada. He spent a year at Sillery, and in 1686 was sent to Michillimackinac. Two years later, he succeeded Allouez in the Illinois mission, where he remained (except a few years, *ca.* 1695–98, during which he was superior at Mackinac) until, late in 1705, he was seriously wounded by an arrow, shot at him by a revengeful savage. His fellow-missionaries attempted to cure him, and afterward sent him to Mobile for medical treatment; thence he went (late in 1706) to Paris, with the same object. In February, 1708, he came back to America, hoping to continue his mission labors; but he died soon afterward (April 23), apparently from the effects of his wound, which had proved incurable. Gravier was a missionary of great ability and efficiency, and an excellent linguist; a dictionary of the Illinois language, supposed to have been compiled by him, was in the possession of the late J. H. Trumbull.

12 (p. 103).— The settlement of Cahokia was begun not long before that of Kaskaskia *(note* 11, *ante)*, apparently by the settlement there of the Tamaroas, an Illinois tribe; its name is that of another tribe of that nation, also written Kaoukia (vol. lxiv., *note* 29).

The savages were quickly followed by a French trading post, and by a Jesuit missionary, Pinet (vol. lxiv., *note* 22), and a Seminary priest, St. Cosme. The latter apparently remained here but a short time, and was succeeded by Jean Bergier — who, after Montigny's departure (1700), became superior of the Mississippi missions. His headquarters were at Cahokia, where, it is probable, he died. This event occurred, according to Shea (*Church in Colon. Days*, p. 551), Nov. 9, 1707.

The Metchigamea were living near the mouth of Arkansas River when visited by Marquette in 1673 (vol. lix., pp. 151, 153).

Gabriel Marest was born at Laval, France, Oct. 14, 1662; and became a Jesuit novice at Paris, Oct. 1, 1681. He was an instructor at Vannes during 1682–88, and a student at Bourges and Paris during five years more. In 1694, he came to Canada, and was at once sent to Hudson Bay with Iberville (vol. lxiv., *notes* 19, 25). As he relates in a letter to Lamberville (vol. lxvi., doc. clxxxi.), he was captured there by the English in the following year, and taken to England; but was afterward sent back to France. He returned to

Canada at the first opportunity, and was sent to the Western missions. From 1698, he ministered to the Kaskaskias, accompanying them in their removal to the Mississippi; he devoted himself to the civilization as well as the religious instruction of this tribe, taught them to cultivate the soil and raise domestic animals, and rendered them the most industrious and peaceable of the Western savages. Gravier states, in a letter to the general (vol. lxvi., doc. clxxxii.), written in 1707, that the Kaskaskia village then numbered 2,200 souls; and that all of these, except 40 or 50, professed Christianity. Marest was also an accomplished linguist, as we learn from the statements of his fellow-missionaries; but no MS. of his is known to exist. He died in his mission, Sept. 15, 1714 (not 1715, as in Shea). The circular letter announcing his death, written by Mermet, is in the archives of l'École de Ste. Geneviève, Paris; and an apograph of it is in St. Mary's College, Montreal.

13 (p. 103).— Paul du Rue (Ru) was born at Vernon, France, October 6, 1666. At the age of twenty, he entered the Jesuit novitiate. He acted as instructor at Quimper, Vannes, and Nevers during 1688–94, and then studied at Paris for five years. Iberville, making his second voyage to Louisiana (in the autumn of 1699), brought with him Du Rue, who had been selected by his superiors to found a mission in that new colony; he also acted as chaplain to the French at Biloxi and Mobile. With his colleague Joseph de Limoges, who came a year later, he labored among the savages dwelling in Mississippi and in Louisiana south of the Red River; while the Seminary priests carried on their missions among the tribes north of that stream. The latter priests requested that they be allowed to enter the Jesuit field of labor, but independently of the Jesuits. Du Rue thereupon went to France (1702) in order to oppose this project, which was supported by Bishop St. Vallier. No satisfactory settlement of the affair could be reached; and the Jesuits in Louisiana were therefore recalled by their superiors in the following year. Du Rue remained in France, where he acted in the capacity of a preacher and missionary; he died at Rouen, March 30, 1741.

14 (p. 105).— *Miaramigoua:* the Maramec, a river of Missouri, 150 miles long, discharging its waters into the Mississippi, 19 miles below St. Louis; it flows through a country abounding in mines of lead, iron, and copper. These mines, it is said, "gave rise to the famous Mississippi scheme, 1719."

15 (p. 109).— Louis Michel Duhemme, *dit* Terrien, was born at Three Rivers, in 1671. He married, and had a son; but nothing further is known about him.

16 (p. 109).— Tanguay records the birth (1665) of Pierre Chabot, son of Mathurin; but gives no other information regarding this son.

17 (p. 115).— This Rivière à Mayot (Margot, on most maps) is apparently that now known as Wolf River, which falls into the Mississippi just above Memphis, Tenn. From it, by portages, there was easy communication with the Tombigby River, upon the upper waters of which the Chickasaw Indians were then located.

18 (p. 115).— Joseph de Limoges, born at Vannes, France, Sept. 19, 1668, entered the Jesuit novitiate at Paris, upon reaching the age of eighteen. An instructor at Amiens, and a student at Paris (at each, five years), he came to Canada in 1698; and, two years later, joined Du Rue *(note* 13, *ante)* in Louisiana. He there maintained a mission among the Houmas, near the mouth of Red River. Recalled to France in 1703, he died in his native town, Jan. 30, 1704 — mainly from grief at the loss of his mission, according to Rochemonteix (*Jésuites*, t. iii., p. 587).

The Taogria (Taogarios) are mentioned by La Harpe (*Journ. Hist.*, p. 81) as "settled upon the Casquinambo [Tennessee] River, which flows into the Ouabacho [Ohio];" he adds that these savages had killed five Frenchmen (in the summer of 1703), "at the instigation of some Englishmen who were carrying on the trade which they had established with that nation." The Taogria would appear to be some migrating band of the Shawnees (vol. xlvii., *note* 9). As early as 1699, the French learned that the English of Virginia and North Carolina had found their way across the Alleghanies, and were trading with the Choctaws and Chickasaws. The Taogria village is indicated on several maps (that of Senex, 1710; De Fer, 1718; and others) as far up the Tennessee.

19 (p. 117).— Regarding the *piakimine*, see *note* 8, *ante*.

20 (p. 117).— The Arkansas tribes here mentioned have been regarded by some writers as now extinct; but Dorsey states (*Amer. Naturalist*, vol. xx., p. 216) that he has found "members of them still existing." He regards them simply as villages of the Kwapa tribe: Kappa (Quapaw) is U-ga′-qpa-qti, "real Kwapas;" Tourima (Thoriman of Joutel), Ti-u-a′-ddhi-man′; Sitteoü (Otsote), U-zu′-ti-u′-hi,— when scientifically expressed in the nomenclature of the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology.

For account of these and other Siouan tribes,— their habitat, history, organization, customs, etc.,— see McGee's "Siouan Indians," and Dorsey's "Siouan Sociology," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1893–94, pp. 157–244.

21 (p. 121).— Our MS. has *plus de 28 ans;* Shea corrects the figures to "27," which is correct, as Marquette's voyage occurred in 1673.

22 (p. 125).— Cf. Marquette's description of the calumet and its dance, vol. lix., pp. 129–137, and *notes* 27, 29; and Allouez's, vol. li., pp. 47, 49.

There is in the archives of St. François du Lac (the Abenaki mission near Three Rivers) an unpublished MS. volume by the Jesuit missionary Jacques (Eustache, according to Charlevoix) le Sueur (in Canada from 1716 to 1760), dated 1744, which contains a curious chapter on the "History of the Calumet and of the Dance." From this it appears that the calumet dance was introduced, about 1720, among the Abenakis of St. François de Sales, whom the Fox Indians of Wisconsin were then endeavoring to seduce from their French alliance. The missionaries used all their efforts to suppress it, but it obtained a strong foothold among the Abenakis. This chapter on the calumet dance was printed in *Soirées Canadiennes*, vol. iv. (1864), pp. 111–135.

23 (p. 129).— The "river of Tounika" was the Yazoo River, in Mississippi. On its banks were several Indian villages in 1700, the Tonicas (Tounikas) dwelling nearest its mouth. Half a century later, they were located on the east shore of the Mississippi River, south of Red River. By 1817, most of the tribe had ascended the latter stream to Avoyelles, 90 miles from its mouth.

The Ounspik are, more correctly, Ouispes or Oussipés,— the name applied to them by Iberville and Pénicaut. Yakou (*?yashu*, "a leafy tree") seems to indicate a tribe bearing the same name as the river.— See Gatschet's *Migration Legend of the Creek Indians* (Phila., 1884; no. iv. of Brinton's "Library of Aboriginal American Literature"), pp. 39–41, 97–99. This valuable work is a careful, detailed, and scholarly study of the aboriginal ethnography of the Gulf region between the Carolinas and Texas; it is probably the best authority now extant upon this subject.

24 (p. 133).— In regard to the manufacture of pottery among these tribes, see vol. lix., *note* 40. Cf. *Peabody Museum Reports*, 1875, pp. 18–21, 28–45; 1878, pp. 317–328, 343–360.

The canes so often here mentioned by Gravier are the stems of *Arundinaria macrosperma*— a tall, woody grass allied to the bamboo. It grows throughout the Southern States, forming dense "cane-brakes."

25 (p. 137).— The Taensa tribe were located in what is now Tensas county, La., on the east side of the Mississippi. When Iberville visited them (1700), they had seven villages, grouped around a lake, probably Lake St. Joseph. Soon afterward, part of these people removed to the vicinity of Mobile. This tribe is now extinct.

The Naktche (Natches) had nine villages, at the place where now stands the city of Natchez, Miss. A French settlement was early

formed in their vicinity; but this was resented by the savages, who in November, 1729, massacred the white colonists. The French, in retaliation, attacked the Natches, and drove them from their homes (February, 1730). The remnants of the tribe fled far eastward, and were afterward incorporated with the Creeks; a small band are now living in Indian Territory.—See Gatschet, *ut supra* (*note* 23).

Brinton says (*Amer. Race*, p. 89): "Within the horizon of the Muskoki stock [the Creeks, as also the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles, and other tribes] were a number of small tribes speaking languages totally different. We may reasonably suppose them to have been the débris of the ancient population who held the land before the Muskokis had descended upon it from the north and west." Within this group he includes the Natchez, Taensas, Tonicas, Chetimachas, and others.

26 (p. 141).—The book here referred to was published at Paris in 1697, under the title *Dernières découvertes dans l'Amérique Septentrionale de M. de la Sale; Mises au jour par M. le Chevalier Tonti.* Cf. Charlevoix's *Nouv. France*, t. i., pp. 460, 464; t. ii., p. 260. Margry has published two genuine relations by Tonty, dated 1684 and 1693 (*Découv. et établ.*, t. i., p. 573).

27 (p. 151).—The Humas (Houmas) were a Cha'hta (Choctaw) tribe located on the east side of the Mississippi, seven leagues above the mouth of Red River. In 1699, they numbered about 350 families. "They once claimed the ground on which New Orleans stands, and after the Revolution lived on Bayou Lafourche." "The limit between the lands occupied by the Huma and the Bayogoula was marked by a high pole painted red, which stood on the high shores of Mississippi River at Baton Rouge, La."—See Gatschet's *Migration Legend*, pp. 103, 114, 115.

28 (p. 157).—There is much confusion among historical writers about the identity of the Canadian explorers in the South, named Juchereau de St. Denis. As well as can be determined by the data now available, it was Charles, son of Nicolas Juchereau (vol. xxxiv., *note* 5), who established a trading post and tannery (in the autumn of 1702) near the mouth of the Ohio, probably at or near the site of the later Fort Massac. He died there about two years afterward.—See La Harpe's *Journ. Hist.*, pp. 75, 88, 89; Margry's *Découv. et établ.*, t. v., pp. 349–352, 357, 363–368, 438.

With Iberville came to Louisiana (1700) a brother of Charles Juchereau—Louis, born in 1676. He was a trusted lieutenant of Iberville and Bienville, and was sent by them on several expeditions to Mexico; for several years he was commandant of Fort Mississippi; and he explored much of the region tributary to the Lower Mississippi and Red rivers. He learned many Indian languages, and had great

influence among the savages. He participated, with much distinction, in the capture of Pensacola, in 1719; for this he was made captain of a military company, and made governor of the fort at Natchitoches. French states (*La. Hist. Colls.*, new ser., p. 84, *note*) that in 1726 St. Denis returned to Montreal, where he died; but Tanguay makes no mention of Louis Juchereau beyond the date of his birth; so it is improbable that he died in Canada. Charlevoix states (*Nouv. France*, t. ii., p. 498) that in 1731 St. Denis was besieged at his fort by the Natches whom he defeated. In 1714 he married a Spanish girl whom he met on one of his Mexican expeditions — Doña Maria de Vilescas. Tanguay ascribes this marriage to Joseph Charles, son of the Charles above mentioned; but Joseph was only eighteen years old at the time of the marriage, and there is no evidence that he was in Louisiana at that time. The time of Louis's death is not recorded.

The savage peoples named in our text are the southern tribes of the Pani (Pawnee) stock, which extended from the Platte River to the Gulf of Mexico. The Kadodakio are now known as the Caddoes; Iberville found them (1699) on the Red River; one of their villages was Nactythos (Natchitoches). The Senis (Cenis) are the Assinais (Assiné); their location was in Central Texas. The Kiouahaa (Kiouahau) are the Kiowas, located on the upper waters of the Canadian-Arkansas River. — See Gatschet's *Migration Legend*, pp. 42–44; and Brinton's *Amer. Race*, pp. 95–97, 101, 102.

The fort built by Iberville — Fort Mississippi, also called Fort La Boulaye — was situated at a point 54 miles from the Gulf. Its site is marked upon Jefferys's map of the Mississippi River (1759), and others. — See Winsor's *Miss. Basin*, pp. 50–52, 75.

29 (p. 159). — The tribes here mentioned belonged to the Cha'hta (Choctaw) nation. Gatschet mentions their migrations to the west side of the Mississippi "at an early epoch, no doubt prompted by the increase of population. The Cha'hta emigrating to these western parts were looked at by their countrymen at home . . . as outcasts, on account of the turbulent and lawless elements which made up a large part of them." Among these were the Humas (*note* 27, *ante*); the Bayogoulas (Baiougoulas) and Mugulashas (Mougoulachas), who lived together in one village, situated on the west shore of the Mississippi, 64 leagues from the sea; the Biloxis, "of whom scattered remnants now live in the forests of Louisiana, south of the Red River;" and the Acolapissas (Kolapissas, Quinipissas), in the region northwest to northeast of New Orleans. All, save the Biloxis, are now extinct. — See Gatschet's *Migration Legend*, pp. 103, 109–113.

30 (p. 165).—Bilocchi is the modern Biloxi, Miss. In 1699, Iberville erected here Fort Maurepas. It proved to be a barren and insalubrious location, and the colony was removed to Mobile in January, 1702.—See maps of D'Anville, De Lisle, Jefferys, and other cartographers of 18th century; also reproductions of these in Winsor's *Miss. Basin*, pp. 59, 75, 423, 425, 448.

A Spanish colony had settled at Pensacola in 1696. The place was twice captured by the French, under Bienville, in 1719; but it was restored to Spain in 1721, when the war between that country and other European powers came to an end.

31 (p. 167).—Sauvole de Villantray was a lieutenant under Iberville; many writers say that he was a brother of the latter, but this seems improbable. He was commandant at Fort Maurepas, but died there in August, 1701 (according to La Harpe, *Journ. Hist.*, p. 35; but in the April following, as given by Pénicaut). A letter by him (dated April 1, 1700), written at Biloxi, is published by Margry (*Découv. et établ.*, t. v., pp. 447–462).

32 (p. 173).— Reference is here made to the encounter by Bienville (Sept. 15, 1699) of an English ship on the Mississippi, near the present New Orleans, which belonged to an expedition sent out by Daniel Coxe, who had bought the patent of "Carolana,"—a grant made in 1627, by Charles I. of England, to Sir Robert Heath. Gravier's account indicates the pretensions already made by Englishmen to the first discovery of the Mississippi River.

The "apostate" of whom Gravier speaks, and his "relation of the Mississippi," refer to Hennepin's book, *Nouvelle Decouverte d'un tres grand Pays Situé dans l'Amerique* (Utrecht, 1697), and an English version, *A new Discovery of a Vast Country in America* (London, 1698), which were dedicated to King William of England. See bibliography of this author's works in Dionne's *Hennepin* (Quebec, 1897).

33 (p. 177).—La Salle (vol. lvii., *note* 2; vol. lxiii., *note* 30) set out from his Texas colony in January, 1687, with a party of sixteen Frenchmen and one Shawnee savage, intending to go to Canada by way of the Mississippi and Illinois, in order to secure relief for his suffering colonists. While *en route*, La Salle was murdered by some disaffected followers—at a place on the southern branch of the Trinity River. The priest mentioned by Gravier was Father Anastase Douay, a Recollet, who had come from France with the explorer. The Frenchmen at Biloxi were probably deserters from La Salle's forces, who had gone to live among the savages.— See Parkman's *La Salle*, pp. 396–446; and Sulte's "Mort de Cavelier de la Salle," in *Canad. Roy. Soc. Proc.*, 2nd ser., vol. iv., sec. 1, pp. 3–31.

34 (p. 179).— Shea's publication of this document adds, at the end, a copy of the Latin inscription upon a cross erected in 1700 by the Jesuit Du Rue near the French fort on the Mississippi. The claim of priority in discovery is therein made for the French.

"The Mobilians seem to be the descendants of the inhabitants of Mauvila, a walled town, at some distance from the seat of the Tuscalusa chief, and dependent on him. These Indians are well known for their stubborn resistance offered in 1540 to the invading troops of Hernando de Soto. Subsequently they must have removed several hundred miles south of Tuscalusa River, perhaps on account of intertribal broils with the Alibamu [Alabamas]."—Gatschet's *Migration Legend*, p. 110.

35 (p. 185).—The phrases *cens et rentes* and *lods et ventes* are not translated, in legal usage. The former means a special ground-rent (in money or in kind), payable by a *censitaire* to his seignior; the latter was a due payable to the seignior on each sale or transfer of property. The *rente amortissable* means a rent redeemable by payment of the capital in installments. *Terre du domaine* means land in the occupancy of the lord of the manor.—Crawford Lindsay.

The pension of 5,000 livres to the Jesuits in Canada was begun in 1647 (vol. xxxvi., *note* 57).

36 (p. 201).—C. M. Burton's excellent biographical sketch of Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac (Detroit, 1895) is apparently the most detailed and accurate one thus far published; and we follow it in giving the following outline of his life. The place and date of his birth are not accurately known; but his father was a councilor in the parliament of Toulouse, and Antoine's birth occurred probably between 1657 and 1661. As a young man, he served in the French army; and in 1683 he came to America, and settled at Port Royal. A correspondent (T. P. Hall, of Detroit) raises an interesting query as to a possible kinship between Cadillac and the De la Mote who was La Saussaye's lieutenant in the Mount Desert colony captured by Argall in 1613: but there are no available data for determining this. Cadillac married Marie Thérèse Guyon, at Quebec, June 25, 1687; by her he had thirteen children. In 1688, he received from the Canadian government a grant of land in Maine—the island of Mount Desert, and a tract of four square leagues on the opposite mainland. In 1690 and 1691, he lost all his property through incursions by the English; he then settled at Quebec, and received from Frontenac an appointment in the colonial troops. From 1694 to 1697, he was commandant at Michillimackinac; on his return to Quebec, he laid before the government his plan for a French fort at Detroit. After various delays, this was accepted; and Cadillac established that post in the summer of 1701. He also sent for fami-

lies to go thither, desiring to establish a permanent colony; and he soon established a thriving and prosperous village. At first, the fur trade was placed in the hands of the Compagnie du Canada, or "Company of the Colony;" but in September, 1705, they surrendered the trade, in accordance with orders from the king, to Cadillac, who enjoyed this privilege during five years. He was appointed governor of Louisiana in 1710, but did not arrive there until 1712. He remained there about five years, and apparently went to France in 1717. Little is known of his subsequent life; he died in France, Oct. 18, 1730.

Regarding the establishment and early history of Detroit, see Burton's *Cadillac's Village* (Detroit, 1896); Whittlesey's "Indian Affairs around Detroit in 1706," in *West. Reserve Hist. Soc. Tracts*, vol. i., no. 8 (reprinted in Beach's *Ind. Miscellanies*, pp. 270–279); and articles by R. R. Elliott in *U. S. Cath. Hist. Mag.*, vol. i., pp. 345–365; vol. iii., pp. 264–273; vol. iv., pp. 113–124.

Cadillac, during his entire residence at Mackinac and Detroit, was engaged in quarrels with the Jesuits — partly because they claimed to be entirely independent of his authority, partly because of their opposition to the liquor-traffic. For their correspondence with him, his memorials and letters regarding affairs in that region, and various official documents, see Margry's *Découv. et établ.*, t. v., pp. 133–346.

37 (p. 215).— For many years, — since at least 1660, — the fur trade had been illegally carried on by wandering Canadian trappers and voyageurs, who were commonly termed *coureurs de bois*, "wood-rangers." Laws against this illicit traffic were enacted by the French government, but they were seldom effective; and it was openly charged that the Canadian governors and other officials were in collusion with the coureurs de bois, and sharers in their profits. In May, 1681, royal edicts granted amnesty to those who had disobeyed these laws; and the governor was authorized to grant twenty-five licenses for the fur trade, forbidding all other persons to engage therein. Each licensed person was allowed to send out twenty-five canoes, with three men to each canoe. These licenses (permits) also proved inadequate to suppress illegal traffic, and they were revoked by the king in 1696. They were restored in 1716, again revoked in 1719, and reissued in 1726. Regarding these matters, and the value and conditions of the fur trade at that period, see *Édits et Ordonnances* (1854), pp. 248–250, 341, 350, 401, 481, 504; Cadillac's and Callières's "Mémoires," in Margry's *Découv. et établ.*, t. v., pp. 138–156; *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vol. ix., pp. 152–155, 159, 160, 211, 214, 408, 662, 954, 958; and Turner's admirable monograph "The Fur Trade in Wisconsin," in *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proc.*,

1889, pp. 52–98—afterward amplified in *Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies*, vol. ix., nos. 11, 12.

38 (p. 217).—Reference is here made to the "Compagnie de la Colonie du Canada," or "Compagnie de la Nouvelle France"—an association formed in Canada, in 1700, to secure the monopoly of the Western fur trade. Cadillac was one of their number; but apparently he did not expect that they would control the trade of his new settlement at Detroit. To this he was obliged to yield, until 1705 *(note* 36, *ante)*. Regarding this company, see Margry's *Découv. et établ.*, t. v., pp. 172–203, 301–336, 360–367; and Burton's *Cadillac*, pp. 17–20.

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